

Lahndi Phonology

An historical analysis of Awankari Sounds with a new perspective

Thorough investigation into Indo-Aryan, Arabic-Persian
and European elements.

New theories, bold assertions, interesting suggestions.

HARDEV BAHRI

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Lahndî

Phonology

[With special reference to Awāṅkārī]

HARDEV BAHRI

M.A., M.O.L., PH.D., D.LITT., SHASTRI

ALLAHABAD

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Lahndi Phonology

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A WORD

The present work is a part of the thesis submitted to the Punjab University, Lahore, in 1941 and approved for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Oriental Faculty. It is now being published without any alteration or addition, except that the two parts—the descriptive and the historical—have been separated into two volumes, viz.

Part I—Lahndi Phonetics

Part II—Lahndi Phonology.

In preparing this thesis I was guided and helped by my revered Guru, Dr. Siddheshwar Varma, to whom I shall always remain indebted. In fact, it is he who initiated me into the science of language. Himself a Lahndi speaker and philologist, he has been usefully critical and constructive in his suggestions.

I am also grateful to my teacher Dr. A. C. Woolner (died 1936), Principal of the University Oriental College, and Dean and Vice-Chancellor of the Punjab University, and to Dr. B. D. Jain (died 1952), Head of the Hindi Department, Punjab University, for their valuable help and encouragement in the field of linguistic research.

KURUKSHETRA :
16th July, 1962.

HARDEV BAHRI
Head of Hindi Department
Kurukshetra University.

CHART OF PHONETIC SYMBOLS AND PRONUNCIATION

- [^] High-falling tone on the preceding vowel, as in **lá[^]**, to take down, **ki[^]l**, to ease oneself by force.
[/] Rising tone, see p. xx.
[~] Low rising tone, see p. xv-xvi.
[~] Nasalization of the preceding vowel, as in **Jio[~]**, **ekhesa[~]**.
[<] is derived from the following.
[>] develops into the following.
[√] root-form.
['] the minute over a vowel shows the lengthening; and separately, indicates that the following syllable is stressed.
a unstressed a, as in 'abound'.
Λ, a short a, as in 'bud'.
á, æ. long and open á, as in 'all'.
ā Front open vowel, as in 'sat'.
au Back open vowel, opener than o.
 [Note that these are distinguished from **ai, aí, ái, ái, au, aú, áu, áú**, which are diphthongs].
b voiced bilabial plosive, as in 'bat'.
c unvoiced palato-alveolar fricative, as in 'church'.
d voiced dental plosive, as in 'the'.
ḍ retroflex d, as in 'dull'.
 [**bb, ch, dh,** and **ḍh** are the aspirated forms as in **bhirá**, brother, **chole**, grams, **dhúr**, dust, **ḍhol**, drum].
e half-open front vowel, as in 'ate'.
f labiodental, as in 'fate'; in loanwords.
g voiced guttural, as in 'go'.
 [**gh** is aspirated form of g, as in **ghin**, take].
G voiced uvular, as in Arabic; in loanwords.
h glottal as in 'hat'.
H uvular; in Arabo-Persian.
i half close short front vowel, as in 'bid'.
ī close long front vowel, as in 'me'.
j semi-vowel, as in 'yes'; in Non-Lahndi words = J.
J voiced palato-alveolar, as in 'joke', **Játuk**, child.

- k** unvoiced guttural, as in 'kite'.
 [aspirated forms of **j** and **k** are **jh** and **kh**, as in **Jhallá**, foolish, **khed**, play].
- kh** as in 'loch', shown in Persian words, = **x**.
- l** alveolar lateral, as in 'look'.
- m** bilabial nasal, as in 'moon'.
- n** alveolar nasal, as in 'noon'.
- ñ** guttural nasal, shown in Skt. words.
- n̄** palatal nasal, shown in Skt. words.
- ɳ** retroflex nasal, as in **bhāṇ**, sister.
- o** half open back round vowel, as in 'nose'.
- p** voiceless bilabial, as in 'pull'.
 [**ph** is aspirated form of **p**, as in **phat**, wound.]
- q** uvular **k**; in Arabo-Persian.
- r** alveolar rolled consonant, as in 'rat'.
- ɽ** retroflex **r**, as in **chor**, leave.
- s** alveolar fricative, as in 'sit'.
- ʃ** post-alveolar fricative, as in 'she'.
- ʂ** retroflex **s** in Skt., and alveolar in Persian words.
- t** voiceless dental, as in French 'table'.
- ʈ** retroflex **t**, as in **topi**, cap.
 [**th** & **ṭh** are aspirated forms, as in **thali**, plate, and **aṭh**, eight].
- T** dental Arabo-Persian sound.
- u** short close back vowel, as in 'book'.
- ū** long half-close back vowel, as in 'boot'.
- v** labio-dental voiced semi-vowel, as in 'very'.
- ɤ** = **kh** above, as in **ɤaxut**, hide.
- y** semivowel, as in 'yes'; in Skt. or foreign words.
- z** voiced form of **s**, as in 'zebra'.
- [The various Arabo-Persian forms of **z** have been narrated].
- ʕ** = Arabic *ain* (post-glottal plosive).
- ʔ** = Arabo-Persian *hamza*, is a glide.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED

Acc.	accusative	n.	noun
adj.	adjective	N.E.	North East
Amg.	Ardhamāgadhī	NI., NIA	New Indo-Aryan
Ap., Apa.	Apabhramsha	nom.	nominative
Ar., Arab.	Arabic	no.	number
Ass., Assam.	Assamese	obl.	oblique case
Aw., Awan.	Awankari	OIA	Old Indo-Aryan
B., Beng.	Bengālī	onom.	onomatopoetic
cf.	compare	p.	page
chap.	chapter	P.	Pākhrī (Introduc-
Dera.	Derāwālī		tion), Punjabi
E.	Exception (in chap. III)	Pa.	Pali
e.g.	for example	Per.	Persian
Eng.	English	PI, PIA	Primitive Indo-Aryan
etc.	<i>et cetera</i>	Pk., Pkt.	Prakrit
ff.	followings	pl.	plural
G., Guj.	Gujrātī	pp.	pages
H.	Hindi	PP.	Past participle
IA.	Indo-Aryan	P.S.M.	Phonetic Semantic Modification
IE.	Indo-European		
i.e.	that is	R.	Reshī
Inst.	Instrumental	S.	Sindhī
Jm.	Jain Māgadhī	Santh.	Santhālī
L.	Lahndī	sing.	singular
LSI	Linguistic Survey of India	Sk., Skt.	Sanskrit
M.A.	Master of Arts	tbh.	tadbhava
Mar.	Marāṭhī	tsm.	tatsama
Masc.	masculine	v.	verb
Md.	Mundā	viz.	namely
MI., MIA.	Medieval Indo-Aryan	voc.	vocative
Mon.	Monkhamer	vol.	volume
		W.	Wanādhī
		W.P.	West Punjabi

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Lahndi

Lahndi is a modern Indo-Aryan language spoken in the West Punjab (now in Pakistan). In the east it gradually merges into Eastern Punjabi in the tract between the rivers Chenab and the Ravi. In the west it blends into Pashto dialects and in the north into some forms of Dardic languages. In the south-west it mixes with Balochi and in the south with Sindhi and Rajasthani. Except in the east, the boundaries of Lahndi are pretty well-marked.



Map showing the locale of Lahndi. The pocket towards the east of Afghani-speaking area is the Lahndi tract.



Map showing the boundaries of Lahndi. The single letters indicate main dialects to which reference has been made in the following eight pages. [A] pocket is the Awankari area.

Although Sir George Grierson has rightly excluded a part of Montgomery and Gujranwala and whole of Lahore and Sialkot Districts from the Lahndi tract, the time is not far off when these areas will be totally affected by Lahndi dialects lying to their west. The migration of population since the partition of India and the formation of West Pakistan into a single unit are some of the factors which are bound to shift the eastern boundary of Lahndi to the political border. For centuries, it has been noted, eastern Punjabi has pushed Lahndi further to the west, but the events since 1947 have not only stopped that encroachment by eastern Punjabi, but given Lahndi a chance to retrieve its position in the eastern districts of West Pakistan which has now no communication with the Indian tracts where eastern Punjabi is vastly spoken.

Grierson has distinguished three forms of Lahndi—Southern Standard, North-Western and North-Eastern. The southern dialects (Sháhpurí, Jhangí, Multání, Deráwálí, Thalí, etc.) are spoken in the regions south of the Salt Range including the districts of Shahpur, Jhang, Lyallpur, Montgomery, Sheikhupura, Gujrat, Multan, Bahawalpur, Muzaffargarh, Dera Ghazi Khan and Mianwali. The number of speakers is about five million. The North-Western dialects (Hindko, Soháin, Dhanocí, etc.) are spoken in the Districts of Dera Ismail Khan, Bannu, Kohat, Attock, Jhelum, Peshawar and Hazara. The number of speakers is about one million. The North-Eastern Dialects (Pothowáí, Chibálí, Awáńkárí, Ghebí, etc.) are spoken by about two million people in the districts of Rawalpindi, Hazara, Attock, Shahpur and Poonch (in Kashmir).

Awáńkárí is the dialect with which the present treatise is mainly concerned.

The Awans

The Awans are an important tribe whose origin is still a mystery. Their own story is that they are of Arab origin, being descended from Qutub Shah Qadri Alwí*, and through him from Ali, the Prophet's son-in-law. At first they were called Alwis, i.e. people descended from Ali. They are mentioned as such by certain

*Qutub Shah is also called Hazrat Saon.

historians. Qutub Shah, who ruled at Herat in the first quarterly of the 11th century, joined Mahmud Ghaznavid in an invasion of the Punjab and received from him the name of Awan or "helper". The followers, including soldiers of Qutub Shah, were settled by Mahmud round about the Salt Range and here they became known by their newly-earned title of Awans, the "helpers", the word *a'ānat* meaning 'help' in Arabic. Arabian ancestry of the Awans is a favourite fiction.

General Cunningham holds that Awans or Anuwans were Rajputs who were settled here long before the time of Alexander. Anu, the brother of Yadu, was their ancestor, and Taxiles of the Greek histories was an Awan chieftain.

Mr. A. Brandreth gives a third account of the Awans. He is of the opinion that they are descended from the Bactrian Greeks driven south from Balkh by Tartar hordes, and that they entered as an organized army into the Punjab from Herat not more than 300 years ago. This theory is improbable as the period of 300 years would bring them to the time of Akbar while there is agreement of opinion that the Awans are at least 800 years old.

I personally believe that the Awans were the Jat races living about the Salt Range. Here they were found by Mahmud of Ghazni, converted to Islam, given the title of Awans (helpers) and organized by Qutub Shah and his sons. In Peshawar they are always reckoned as Hindki which shows that they were Hindus first. This view is supported by Mr. Thomson* and Sir Detzil Ibbertson†; and in the Shahpur District Gazetteer Wilson writes that the Awans, "so far as language, customs and physique go, are an indigenous Punjab tribe" Mr. Lepel Griffin also thinks that they were originally Hindus. This also agrees with the speech of these people which is essentially Indo-Aryan, as the following pages will show. Further a study of the manners,

* Jhelum District first Settlement Report.

† Punjab Census Report, 1881, para 405.

superstitions* (which have always a long tale and old history), and modes of living of these people reveal that they were not Muslims in origin.

An Awan is, in appearance also, Aryan. He represents "the race of warrior poets who despised the arts of commerce and lived mostly by agriculture, with one hand on the sword and the other on the plough." His main occupation is agriculture. Awans are hard-working cultivators. Their women, who never keep *pardah*, do a lot of help-work. They milch the kine, churn their milk, feed the cattle at home, fetch water, prepare meals, grind corn, spin and darn and do many other duties besides their work at the farm, such as cotton-picking, watching the crops and gleaning the fields at harvest. Between the seed-time and the harvest-time, men have not much to do, except to feed the cattle. Their idleness, drought and hard times have told upon them so that they are much in debt. They are a curious instance of a peasant tribe with aristocratic tradition and indebted condition.

The Awans have frank and pleasing manners, but everywhere they are headstrong and irascible to an unusual degree. Their characteristic failings are vindictiveness and proneness to keep alive old feuds.

The Awans are an orthodox race. As a rule, they do not give their daughters in marriage to other tribes. They dislike leaving their homes, except for military service which they enjoy; and even in the army they mix among themselves. Their organization is still tribal as was that of the Aryan immigrants of old.

The Habitat of the Awans

There is consensus of opinion, as shown above, that the Salt

*They must not start on a journey on certain days of the week. To meet a sweeper, a dog, a Khatri, a maiden, a horseman or a donkey is considered fortunate. It is unlucky to meet a Brahman, a Mulla, a cat, a widow and so on. It is considered very unlucky for a cow to calve in the month of Bhádo, for a mare to drop a foal in Sáwan and so on. A child of one sex born after three children of the opposite sex portends misfortune to the parents, etc.

Note—Only the Pathans care for none of these things.

Range was the first home of the Awans. From here they spread into the adjoining portions of Mianwali, Shahpur, Jhelum and Attock Districts. At present they are scattered all over the western Punjab and some souls may be found even outside the Province. At first the word 'Awankari' was applied to the country the Awans ruled, viz., the regions east and west of the Salt Range. Its use was afterwards restricted, and to-day the exact place which is called "Awankari" tract is in and about the Talagang Tehsil in Attock District, to the north-west of the Salt Range. Even in the *Ain-i-Akbari* of Abul-Fazl (Akbar's reign), it is this tract which is mentioned as Awan Mahal, the place of the Awans.*

The Awankari tract is separated from the rest of the Attock District by the Sohan river on its north. It has the Salt Range on its south-east, the mountainous *ilaga* of Makhad on its west, and the Gabhir stream on its east. It is a high-lying plateau, the whole area being scoured by the deep beds of numerous torrents and fretted everywhere by innumerable small ravines and gullies. The area is about 1400 Sq. miles and lies between 32°32' and 33°8' north latitude and 72°4' and 72°34' east longitude.

It appears that the Awankari tract has been a big jungle with plenty of arable land within, which accounts for feuds, murders, the system of hamlets and subdialects and mixtures of dialects. This country was out of the track of the invading armies of the Persians, Greeks, Scythians, Afghans, Turks and Mughals. The tract contains but few remains of archaeological interest. The Muslim rulers were never interested in this tract. None of the Sikh *mists* had their home in the country north of the Jhelum.

The population of the Awankari tract is more than 1,00,000 of which 52 per cent are males. The Awans comprise 83 per cent of the total population and 74 percent of the land-owning and farming classes.

Awankari Language

In the following pages Awankari refers to the language of the

**Tarikh-i-Alwi*, by M. Hyder Ali Awan, P. 45; Census Report 1881.

tract described above. This is the name of the language by which it is called by the people themselves. It is more or less a tribal dialect, sharing no doubt the peculiarities and common features of Lahndi as distinguished from Punjabi. Sir George Grierson (L. S. I., Vol. VIII, part I, pp. 450 ff.) thinks it to be a form of the North-Eastern dialect of Lahndi and connects it with Poṭhowáří. The following pages will show that it has closer affinities with Thálí, Sháhpurí and Dhanocí than with Poṭhowáří.

Sir George distinguishes the southern from the northern dialect on the following grounds—

(1) that **gachná**, to go, **achná**, to come, are peculiar to the north-eastern, the south having **va^hJun** and **ávun**, respectively. (p. 243)*

(2) that the north-eastern dialects use the pronouns **mā^hḍá**, mine, **tā^hḍá**, thine, while the southern dialects use **merá** and **terá**. (p. 243).

(3) that in the north-eastern dialect the pronominal suffixes of only the third person are commonly applied. (p. 431).

(4) that between the north and the south there are considerable variations of vocabulary. Some of the most important words are quite different. These words are **Jul**, go, **ghin**, take, and **hag**, can, in the north for **cal**, **lā** and **sak**, in the south. (p. 431).

(5) that the south does not use the oblique terminations [e] and [i].

(6) that in the north the dative ends in **á^h** instead of **nú^h**.

(7) In the Salt Range Lahndi (i.e., N. E. dialect) there is a tendency to drop aspiration, as in **ḍil**, rock, **bárá^h**, twelve, instead of standard **ḍi^l**, and **bá^hrá^h**.

Sir George Grierson further compares Awankari with the Southern standard and adds—

(8) For become, **ho** is used, not **thí**. (P. 450).

(9) There is tendency to omit the aspiration of sonant aspirates. Thus **bhi^h**, is equal to **bí** (also).

(10) **puttur** is equal to **puttr** (son) in Awankari.

(11) The future of **ákhuṇ**, to say, is **ákhsá^h**, not **əkhesá^h**. (P. 452).

(12) Awankari is fond of nasalization. (P. 436).

*The pages refer to "L. S. I.", Vol. VIII, part I.

I may at once assert that the above statements with the single exception of no. (5) are all wrong and therefore misleading.

(1) Awankari and Ghebi do not have **gachná** and **achná**. They use **va^hJun** and **ávuṇ**.

(2) Multáni, Thali and even Sháhpuri employ **māi^hdá**, and **taí^hdá**. In some southern dialects, no doubt, **merá** and **terá**, are employed, but they are loans from Punjabi. They are also common in some northern sub-dialects about the railway line.

(3) Awankari has pronominal suffixes of the 2nd and 3rd person and also in the plural number of 1st person. Absence of the suffix of first person singular only cannot detach it from the southern dialects.

(4) **ghin** is a universal Lahndi word. **Jul** and **hag** should not be allowed to become distinguishing features. We shall find a large number of important words differing in each village.

(5) It appears to be the only truth in the entire discussion by Sir George.

(6) Awankari employs also **ko** or **ko^h** as the dative termination, Poṭhowári uses **kí^h**, and Dhanoci has **-n < nú^h**. **á^h** is not at all a common feature of northern dialects.

(7) Grierson, unfortunately, did not notice the falling and rising tones in Waṇáḍhi and Reshí sub-dialects of Awankari. **ḍi^hl** is **ḍi^hl** and **bá^hrá^h** is **b^hará^h**, in Waṇáḍhi.

(8) Awankari has **thí** as well as **ho**, the former being more common.

(9) **bí** is from Skt. api- and therefore, is not a case of deaspiration. On the other hand, Awankari is free from what Grierson calls Dardic influence. (P. 235).

(10) The word **puttr** is wrongly recorded in Grierson's text of the Prodigal Son. Awankari has regular [u] sound in the penultimate position of such words.

(11) **ákhsá^h** is a new loanword from Ghebi or Poṭhowári and is found in Reshí only. Awankari has **akhesá^h**, **akhesun**, etc.

(12) The nasalized sounds recorded by Grierson are wrong.

The place of Awankari in Lahndi

Awankari is a mixed language. Its nearest relative is Ghebi

and then Dhanoci. It is true that if we take away [-dā] for Aw -ná and [āi] for Aw. [e] from Dhanoci it would remain just a subdialect of Awankari. Similarly southern Awankari is closely allied to Sháhpuri and Kacchi. Poṭhowári is a distant relative. Grierson's wedge is arbitrary and it is absurd to couple Awankari and Ghebi with Poṭhowári.

Every dialect of Lahndi is connected with its neighbours, and each shades into the surrounding dialects. Each dialect has also its distinguishing features. The existence of Awankari is not at all a problem (as it has been to Grierson). Awankari is still being attacked by Sháhpuri and Thali from the south west and by Dhanoci from the east. Our political, social and commercial relations with Dhanoci speaking people are growing and a large number of Awankars have adopted Dhanoci forms.

Some of the special features of the dialect are*—

(1) It contains a large number of mixtures and the consequent irregularities in grammatical forms, as we have seen above.

(2) Awankari is a dialect which contains a very copious number of words with a high-falling tone.

(3) There is hardly a sentence which has neither a tone nor aspiration.

(4) The treatment of PI consonant group—nasal and aspirated consonant—is peculiar in Awankari. The nasal is always dropped.

(5) The stress system in Awankari is most regular and simple. Pákhri stress is exceptionally strong.

(6) The southern Lahndi [d] and [b], Deráwáli [g], Poṭhowári [csh] and [k_v], [p_v], [c_v] and Dhanoci [e_v] do not exist in Awankari.

(7) The existence of cerebral [l] in the speech of agriculturists is notable.

(8) Some of its diphthongs and triphthongs are unavailable in other dialects.

(9) The dialect contains a number of extensional suffixes unknown in other dialects.

(10) Awankari *ghísí*, *ghíse*, is a unique form of the root *ghin*.

(11) The termination in imperative future (2nd person) is -e in Awankari which is invariably -í in all the neighbouring dialects.

*For phonetic details, consult the "Lahndi Phonetics" by the author.

Other Lahndi Dialects

ghinni^í, you take

khari^í, you may carry

Awan.

ghinne[~]

khare[~].

(12) The change of [-á] of the root to [ai] before conjugational termination is not found in Sháhpuri, Dhanoci, Thali or Poṭhowári. It is a remarkable preservation of í of set verbs in PI.

(13) The use of liaison [v] is peculiar.

Other Lahndi dialects

pina^í, drinking

pip^í, to drink

caul, rice

Awankari

pivna^í

pivun^í

cavul,

etc.

(14) The pronouns **to[~]dhá**, yours, **usá[~]**, him, **kor**, who, etc. are found only in Awankari.

(15) The postposition **na^í**, of, and the present participle termination **-na^í** appears to be unique.

(16) The conjugation of the subsidiary verb is also unique. See above.

(17) Reshi **kapi^í** (kṛtvá) though obscure is a unique form.

(18) **thivun^í**, and **hovun^í**, to be, exist side by side, though the former is more popular.

(19) The forms like **hikio[~] akhio[~]** (from one eye) show a preservation of the tendency to fully decline an adjective in oblique.

(20) The accusative termination [-á] is not available in any other Lahndi dialect.

It is dangerous to make generalizations of phonological facts, but it appears from the following pages that Awankari is tenacious in preservations, regular in modifications, original in extensions and fresh with innovations.

It is yet too early to prepare the list of words found exclusively in Awankari. But there is no doubt that a very large number of words is confined to this dialect alone.

Linguistic Boundaries of Awankari

If we draw a straight line from north to south passing the East Gabhir, it will exactly divide Awankari from Dhanoci in the east and from Sohái^í in the north east. Thus we find the villages of

Dewál and Muthrálá speaking Dhanocí and Sohái[~] respectively. The existence of Dhanocí in the villages of Nakka Kahut, Murti and Nakka Rihan on the Awankari side of the East Gabhir is remarkable. The predominance of linguistic mixtures from Vanhári sub-dialect or Dhanocí in the extreme south-east corner of Awankari (in the villages of Qadirpur and Bhilomar) can be explained by the fact that no natural boundary exists there between Vanhári and Awankari.

As already described, the river Sohan forms the dividing line between Ghebi and Awankari. The villages of Dhok Pathan and Barwala, although administratively in Talagang Tehsil, are linguistically outside the Awankari tract. But the village Tráp lying across the Sohan is an Awankari speaking village. In fact in the north west corner Awankari has extended to Injra, which has been, for long time, the nearest railway station to the Awankars. Tráp lies on the road to Injra.

In the south there is no definite line. Although the Salt Range may be considered as the link between Awankari and Sháhpuri, yet on the Range itself there is a large number of villages of which some owe allegiance to one dialect and some to another. For instance, Jába, in Shahpur District, is an Awankari speaking village. Most of the places on the northern side of the Salt Range speak Awankari mixed with borrowings from Sháhpuri.

The West Gabhir distinctly divides Awankari from Lamoci dialect of Thali. The villages of Danda Shah Balawal and Lawa, however, speak Awankari. Both of them lie about the main road from Talagang to Mianwali. Seven villages near Lawa do not speak Awankari.

It is right to call Awankari a geographical dialect.

Awankari Sub-dialects

Awankari has three sub-dialects, namely, Wanádhi spoken about Talagang in the east of the tract, Reshi in the north west about Tamman-Multan, and Pákhri in the south-west about Picnand. The Ankar stream roughly divides Wanádhi from the other two sub-dialects, although dialectical mixtures do exist, particularly in villages about the two sides of that stream. A series of forest-groves,

locally known as Rakhs, forms the dividing line between Pákhri and Reshí. The position of village Camcá in the Pákhri tract is peculiar. It is an "island" inhabited by Pathans speaking Pashto. The non-Pathans in Camcá speak a form of Awankari with mixtures from Pashto vocabulary and accent.



Map showing the region of Awankari and its sub-dialects.

Pákhari means the tract near the mountain side, < Skt. Pakṣa-, side. It lies immediately on the northern slope of the Salt Range down the Sakesar Hill. The big city of the tract is Láwá. Reshí is named after the stream "Resh" which flows almost in the middle of that tract. Wanádhi is the name of the vast plain between the East Gabhir and the Ankar. Talagang is the centre of the Wanádhi Speaking area.

The main points that distinguish these dialects are given below—

I. Pronunciation

An outsider cannot very well feel that inspite of vast similarities between these dialects, there are points of diversity which clearly separate them from one another. Briefly,

(1) Wanádhi has preserved Prakrit aspiration. Reshí on the other hand shows traces of Thali influence and deaspirates sounds.

In the following words, for example, Reshí has dropped the aspiration—

Aspiration in Reshí is not altogether absent.

W. sabbhá, make ready

R. sabbá

cúḍhí, pinch

cúḍí

gutthí, pocket

gutti

amúdhá, upside down

athtali, forty eight

baghná, a string net

amúdá

attali

bagná.

Initial aspirates exist in all the three sub-dialects.

In Pákhri, the use of aspirated consonants varies among individuals. As a rule, villages near Wanádhi employ aspirated consonants while those near Reshi de-aspirate them.

(2) The use of tone is more common in Wanádhi than in Reshi. The same syllable is pronounced in Wanádhi with a falling tone which starts in the middle register and falls suddenly at the end, and in Reshi with a rising tone which starts at a lower pitch and is sustained for a while before rising.

W

cá^ˆre, may cook

pa^ˆrun, to read

shipá^ˆi, constable

lá^ˆ~, a rope

R

cá / re

pa / run

shipá / i

lá / ~

Pákhri speakers use both tones, the use varying with individuals and villages. Pákhri is the meeting place of the two tones. As the result of this interaction, a new tone is in the making in Pákhri. It is shown below with [h]. I have discovered it in a few words.

P. **tálhá**, tank

agáh^ˆ~, further

löhene, descending

vāhenen, plough

nihānī, wife of barber

W. **tálá**

agá^ˆ~

lāi^ˆne

vāi^ˆnen

niānī.

(3) Reshi has a distinct tendency to reduce sounds. Examples—

W. **jīkun**, as

fāidá, profit

asiddá, our

tudhá^ˆ~, to you

sāū, hundred

R. **jī^ˆ~**

fāid

adā

tuā^ˆ~

sāi

etc,

(4) In this respect Pákhri also is a more modern language than Wanádhi. Compare—

W. **jitnī**, as much

ákhiá, said

jhagrā, quarrel

P. **jittī**

R., P. **ákhiá**

P. **jherā**.

The more popular use of liaison in Reshi and Pákhri further

establishes this characteristic of the two south-western dialects.

(5) Pákhri stress is very strong, which explains the chief fact about that dialect that it is full of loud and long sounds.

(6) Stress has also resulted in clear doubling of consonants in Pákhri. Vide the chapter on quantity of consonants in the "Lahndi Phonetics."

(7) Pákhri and, more particularly, Reshi, avoid a number of diphthongs common in Awankari.

P. gá, went	W. giá
R. ákhá, said	ákhia
P. pighár, wolf	pighiár
P. á [^] , we were	ai [^] io [~]
P., R. Jí [^] , as	Jio [~]
R. gāi, went	gaie
R. halle, slowly	haule.

(8) With the above may be considered the fondness of Pákhri and Reshi for Liaison. Compare—

P. áia viá, has come	W. áia oia
núra ná [~] vus, his name is	núra ná [~] us
Nura	
P., R. pavliáni, wife of a weaver	pauliáni
R. niháni, wife of a barber	niáni
P., R. divut, wick	diut
levi, paste	lei
also sarvesh, gloy	saresh.

(9) A number of words in Reshi and Pákhri show how the two dialects are fond of Persianising or over-Persianising certain sounds.

P., R. vijá, marriage	W. vijá [^]
P. Guláb, rose	guláb
P. xatizá [~] , a name	khatiJá [~]
P., R. beGuná, innocent	beguná [^]
P., R. vakut, time	vakut
P. Gaz, yard	gaz, or gaj.

(10) Some words in Pákhri have [d-] for Reshi and Wanádhi [d-]. They are, of course, loans from southern dialects of Lahndi, now spreading into Awankari.

P. deJki, kettle	W. decki
divut, wick	diut
deri, delay	deri

dabh, a grass

divá, lamp

do[^]rá, couplet

dabh

divá

do[^]rá.

(11) W. todá, young of a camel, appears as todá in Reshí and Pákhri and thuddá, staggering, as thuddá.

They are cases of dissimilation or decerebralization for phonetic convenience.

(12) ví, (also), is bí in Pákhri.

(13) [á] and [ñ] are heard even singly in Pákhri and more so in Reshí, but it is not regular. The phenomenon may be a loan from some dialect. Compare—

P., R. vanhá, bangles

Jan[~]n[~]á, marriage parties

tuá, tuck (v.)

W. vanhá

Jan[~]já

tung.

(14) Pákhri [e] (in some words) for Wanádhí and Reshí [ai] is a loan from Kacchí dialect.

P. Jádá, as much

P. hen, are

P. heve, is

P. per, foot

R., W. Jaidá

R., W. ai[~]n

R., W. ai[~]ve

R., W. pāir.

(15) The following vowel-variations are also interesting—

W. hun, now

W. kitthe, where

W. henerá, darkness

W. kujh, some

P., W. lakri, wood

P., R. han

P., R. katthe

P., R. hanará

P., R. kijh

R. lukri.

II. Grammar—

There is not much difference in the grammatical structure of these dialects. The following points, however, are worthy of note—

(1) Pákhri and transitional Reshí (i.e., Reshí in the neighbourhood of Pákhri) use **ko** or **ko[~]** postposition in accusative instead of the termination **-á[~]** in Wanádhí.

(2) The postposition **kol**, with, is added to the pronouns in nominative case in Pákhri, while in Wanádhí and Reshí it is added to the genitive case. Compare—

P. māi[~] kol, with me

tudh kol, with you

us kol, with him

but W., R. māi[~]dhe kol

W. tai[~]dhe kol

R., W. usne kol

Assá~ kol, with us

R. Adde kol.

(3) The oblique from **Jo** (who, which) is **Jis** in **Wanádhi** and **Reshi**, and **Jí** in **Pákhri**.

(4) The genitive case plural from **māi~** (I) is **Addá**, and from **tu~** (you) **tuddá**, in **Reshi**, instead of **esiddá** and **tusiddá** respectively in **Pákhri** and **esáda** and **tusáda** in **Wanádhi**.

(5) In **Pákhri** and **Wanádhi** [e] is infixed between the root and the present participial termination [-ná] in case of transitive verbs, while only [-ná] is added to the root in the case of intransitive verbs. In **Reshi** both transitive and intransitive verbs have simply [-ná] termination. Examples—

P., W. **ekhená**, he says

R. **ákhná** (tran.)

P., W. **bhīrná**, quarrels

R. **bhīrná** (intr.)

sunená, hears

sunná.

(6) Corresponding to the past participial ending [-iá] in **Pákhri** and **Wanádhi**, **Reshi** has [-á] as in Hindi **lará**, **calá**, etc. Compare—

W., P. **ákhiá**, said

R. **ákhá**

laríá, quarrelled

lará

etc.

(7) The conjugation of the auxiliary verb in past tense is very irregular in **Pákhri** showing mixtures of other Lahndi forms. Compare—

Pákhri

Wanádhi

First Person **á^, A^ás**

āi^io~, āi^io~

Second „ **āi^io~, āu^**

āi^e~, āi^io

Third „ **ālāi, āi^**

āi^iá, āi^e

Also past perfect in 3rd person—

piá sá, paie se

piá āi^iá, paie āi^e

(was (were) lying)

(8) The gerundial postposition **ki** of **Wanádhi** is **kaní** in **Reshi** and **Pákhri**, as

W. **ghin ki**, taking

P., R. **ghin kaní**

„ **va~J ki**, going

„ **va~J kaní**

etc.

(9) Respectful forms like **tussi bāithe o** (you are sitting) do not exist in **Pákhri**. They address in singular **tú~ āi^thá~**, thou art sitting. Plural form always denotes plural number in **Pákhri**.

III. Vocabulary—

The following vocables may be compared—

W.,P. phuára ,	R. mañiá , stock of corn
W.,P. borá ,	R. salitá , sack and net
W. kíkun , P. kí ,	R. kive , how
W. phet , P. thet ,	R. ther , a flat piece of stone
W. há ,	P.,R. há , yes.
R.,W. cut ,	P. cuđ , female private part
W. ə-gúthá ,	R.,P. ə-đúkhá , thumb
R.,W. nhá-vun ,	R.,P. dhá-vun , to bathe
R.,W. nəpír ,	P. đo , squeeze
W. uṭh , P. uṭhur ,	R. u-đur , stand
W. bau ,	R.,P. Δjh , sit
W. tás ,	R. bádía , a cup
W.,P. cəṭúrí	R. máti , an earthen pot
W. sá-ṇkí ,	R. pheli , an earthen plate
W. leph ,	R.,P. síruk , quilt
W.,R. ukká ,	P. kətái , at all
W. adhserí ,	P. pāi-ṇí , a measure
W.,P. kaṭví ,	R. kunni , an earthen kettle
W.,R. hudde ,	P. hudre , thither.

miṭhái, is sweatmeat in Wanáđhi and Reshí, while it means pudding in Pákhri.

Pákhri is comparatively poor in vocabulary. It is known to us as a vulgar language.

IV. Phonological Variations—

From the observations above it appears that Reshí and Pákhri have preserved old forms in a number of words, as for example—

(a) R.,P. **kattho** is a remarkable preservation of Pkt.

(b) P. **to-đhá**, R. **tuđá**, yours, preserve an ancient feature which is nearer to PI. *tava*.

(c) R.,P. **kiJh**, some, is nearer to Asokan *kich(u)*, PI *kím-cit-* than W. **kujh**.

(d) Reshí **hikkio** **Δkhio**, from one eye, is an instance of the old tendency to fully decline an adjective in oblique.

The following facts suggest that Reshí, as well as Pákhri to some extent, is a later dialect than Wanáđhi.

(i) Reshí avoids diphthongs by simplification as well as liaison.

[-h-], [-j-] or [-v-].

(ii) Reshi has developed the tendency to drive out inherited [h] by further weakening the tone and by deaspirating consonants.

(iii) It further contracts or develops syncopated sounds, as in—

R.	W.
Adḍá, our	əsidḍá
kí ^h , how	ki ^h Je
Jheṛá, quarrel	Jhaḡrá
tuá ^h , to you	tudhá ^h
oen, are	hoen
Jitti, as many	Jitni
ákha, said	ákhiá
sai, hundred	sāu.

Awankari Vocabulary

The vocabulary of Awankari, as of any other NIA language, may be traced to six main sources.*

(1) Words of non-Aryan Indian languages.

(2) Words of original Skt. or P.I-A. origin coming through a slow process of linguistic evolution through MIA stage.

(3) Skt. words now revived in original, i.e., tatsama or in modified form (semi-tatsama).

(4) Words common to many NIA languages but not traceable to their earlier source, the Deshi words.

(5) Words borrowed at one time or another from other NIA dialects.

(6) Foreign words, including loanwords from Persian (including Turkish and Arabic) and English (including other European languages).

To the above may be added—

(7) Deshis of the dialect itself.

1. NON-ARYAN SUBSTRATUM. The Aryans occupied the Indo-Gangetic plain from the aborigines of whom the Dravidians were most important. It is presumed that the pre-Aryan element should

*Turner : Nepali Dictionary, Introduction, p. xiv.

be appreciably strong in our dialects. But the fact that the Dravidians were turned out completely from this land can account for the paucity of pre-Aryan vocabularies in our languages. Believing that words containing cerebral consonants were greatly influenced by Dravidian sounds, I sent long lists of such words to Mr. C. R. Sankran of the Deccan College & Post-graduate and Research Institute, Poona, but was disappointed to know that none of those obscure words could be traced to Dravidian.

Dr. Kakati, in his 'Formation and Development of Assamese', has given a useful chapter on the Dravidian and Austro-Asiatic element in Assamese, pp. 32ff. The following Awankari words may be compared to parallels in Khasi, Munda, Mundari, Santhali Mon-Khmer, Malayan and other non-Aryan languages.

- Aw. **sem**, a kind of pulse, < symbai (Khasi), a pod
ḍáḡá, deep, < dong, a tube (Khasi)
cuttur, buttocks, < syntai, hump (Khasi), cuṭ (Ass.)
lātú, a spinning top, < lātum, to fold (Mḍ.), lātom (Khasi)
māṛ, cover, < merhá (Mḍ.), √merhá, twist (Ass.)
soṭá, stick, < soṭá (Mḍ.), a stick, soṭá (Ass.)
bhoda, narrow forehead, < bhondo (Santh.), bhondú (H.)
ḍhibbá or **tibbá**, mound, < dhipi (Mḍ.)
bái, a female name, < bhái, ibhái (Mon.), sister.
Jalum, leech, < jelo (Malayan), leech.
págel, mad, < gila (Malayan), mad.
ṭillá, mound, < ul (Malayan), a mountain.

It may be mentioned here that Kakati is wrong to suppose that Ass. hunkari, Aw. **hoká**, shout; Assam. or Aw. **guḡá**; and Assam. **kala**, Aw. **kallá**, have anything to do with non-Aryan languages. They are sound symbols and can be universally found. For further lists in Awankari vide Chapter on Onomatopoeas.

Similarly **mái**, is a nursery word. Aw. **kímxáb**, Ass. king-kháp (brocade) and Awan. and Ass. **kad.ú**, (gourd) have been traced to Persian. Kakati derives them from Khasi and Munda.

In "Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India" Dr. Bagchi has collected useful vocabularies derived from non-Aryan languages. The following Awankari words may be compared:—

- ḍamṛí**, a coin exchangeable with 20 cowries (**kṛṇḍi**), < kuṇḍi, twenty (Santh.)
gaḡdá, 4 cowries, < gandá, a collection of four (Santh.)

goṭī, a piece in chess, < guṭi, piece (Santh.)

nārel, cocoanut, < Skt. nārikela, < niyor (Malayan) and kolai (Tarang)

thun, mouth, < Skt. tuṇḍa, tuṇḍ (Malayan), thno (Khmer), snout

bā^hi, stale, < basi (Mal.), bāsī (H).

There is a large number of words which were modified in Sanskrit and, therefore, for our purposes, they are Indo-Aryan.

2. INDO-ARYAN ELEMENT. The Indo-Aryan element is most predominant in Awankari. A Hindu employs in his speech about 60 per cent Indo-Aryan tbb, vocables

1 per cent tsm or stsm words

15 per cent Deshi words

20 per cent foreign loans

4 per cent words of obscure origin.

The above figures were prepared on the averages of four texts—two from Hindus and two from Muslims.

The importance of the Sanskritic element in any Indo-Aryan dialect is a question of wider study has been thoroughly discussed by scholars. The very fact that out of about 750 verbs (collected by the writer himself), hardly fifty could not be traced to I-A shows the predominance of the native element in the Awankari dialect.

The major part of the present work concerns itself with vocables derived from Sanskrit.

3. THE FOREIGN INFLUENCE. The vocabulary from foreign sources—mostly Arabo-Persian and English has been treated in the last two chapters. The Awankari tract was, perhaps, the first to accept the Muslim culture and the last to come across European culture. Naturally, therefore, Arabo-Persian influence is uppermost.

General

The speech of women in Awankari tract does not differ much from that of men in essentials. Their vocabulary of abuse is more copious. Vocabulary of one class slightly differs from that of another. Shopkeepers possess a number of words not commonly

understood by non-shopkeepers. The difference in the vocabulary of Hindus and Muslims is particularly remarkable. The following words used by Hindus are neither employed nor well understood by Muslims—

varat , fast	khetrí , a specimen crop
cikhá , cremation ground	bhugut , dead
váshná , fame, smell	ka~Jká , virgins
sirádh , a ceremony for the dead	lává , marriage ceremony
bhetá , songs of invocation to goddess	amasiá , new moon day
puruṇmáshí , full moon day	ashṭmí , 8th day
táia , father's elder brother	bhábhi , brother's wife
	etc., etc.

Most of these words are connected exclusively with Hindu rites and religion. Similarly many words of Muslim religion exist among Muslims only. It is very interesting to find that Hindus are familiar with Muslim words, but not so the Muslims with Hindu words.

There are doublets of words, the Hindus having derived theirs from Sanskrit and Muslims from Persian. For instance—

Hindus	Muslims
kará , ¹	halvá , pudding
vilá , ²	niká , ³ marriage
pach.á , ⁴	nimáshá , ⁵ evening
vade-ele , ⁶	fazrí , ⁷ morning
pīdā , ⁸	Jússá , ⁹ body
pag , ¹⁰	sáfá , ¹¹ turban
shukar , ¹²	zummá , ¹³ Friday
virvár , ¹⁴	zumerát , ¹⁵ Thursday
	etc., etc.

Some doublets are I-A in origin, but one form exists among Hindus and the other among Muslims, as

Hindus	Muslims
Jhára , ¹⁶	vatváni , ¹⁷ easing oneself
kuṇnī , ¹⁸	kaṭvī , ¹⁹ earthen kettle
kitthe , ²⁰	katthe , ²¹ where?
nhāṇ , ²²	dhāvun , ²³ to bathe
gāṇ , ²⁴	gāvun , ²⁵ to sing
akhe , ²⁶	Jape , ²⁷ that

kassi,
kidde,

laghi, easing oneself
kadde, whither.

etc., etc.

lálá means a brother among Muslims and a father among Hindus. **bebe** means a sister among Muslims and a mother among Hindus.

In Pákhār Hindus say **má^h** (to me) and Muslims **mā^hko** (to me). Hindus say—

kar ki, doing, and Muslims **kar kañi.**

The vocabulary of the literate people is richer than that of the illiterate. The literate generally employ more Hindustani words and even loanwords from neighbouring dialects.

Men of one profession are generally ignorant of the terms of another profession. While I was collecting such terms on the model of Grierson's "Bihar Peasant Life", I was astonished to learn that about 80 percent of the terms in various professions had never been heard by me before.

Agricultural terms in Awankari are very numerous. There is no sea, no river, no canal in the tract, and many of the words connected with these and used in the neighbouring tracts are unknown to the Awankars.

Awankari is not very rich in expression. One word is used to express a variety of ideas according to the context, e.g., the verb **vagná**, in

hal vagná, the plough ploughs, **vá vagní e**, the wind blows

vájá vagná, the instrument plays, **vag va^hJ**, run up

khú^h vagná, the well drives, **dáne vagnen**, grains leak

vattá vagá, throw the stone, and so on.

Awankari has about 1600 verbal bases. The number of adjectives is also inadequate. Of about 600 adjectives, I collected from an English Dictionary, equivalents for just 200 adjectives could be found in Awankari. There were about one hundred adjectives of the dialect which could not be exactly translated into English.

II-IX
PHONOLOGY
OF
SANSKRITIC ELEMENT



PRESERVATIONS

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PRESERVATIONS

1. VOWELS.
 - (i) INITIAL VOWELS.
 - (ii) MEDIAL VOWELS.
 - (iii) FINAL VOWELS.
2. SINGLE CONSONANTS.
3. CONSONANT GROUPS.
4. PRESERVED WORDS.
5. STRESS.

I. 1. i. Initial Vowels.

Vowels in normally accented syllables have, as a rule, come down unchanged except [ɪ]. Initially, as—

PI. [a] in Aw. **ΔJ**, to-day; **Δ^ˆnná**, blind; **Δddhá**, half.

[á] in Aw. **ává**, kiln; **áppá**, self, own; **á**, come.

[i] in Aw. **it**, brick; **ir**, a kind of grass < itá, cane.

[u] in Aw. **uṭh**, camel; **udhul**, rape; **uḍ**, fly.

[e] in Aw. **e^ˆ**, this < eṣah, Ap. ehū.

Examples of PI. [i-], [u-], [e-], and [o-] are not available in Awankari.

I. 1. ii. Medial Vowels.

The examples of *medial vowels* are quite large. The following may be considered, and it may be noted that Awankari is more tenacious than Punjabi—

- PI. [-a-] in Aw. **gaṇ**, count, but P. **giṇ**
maruc, pepper, but P. **mirc**
haṇṇá, tears but P. **iṇṇh**.
 [-á-] in Aw. **kháJ**, eatable **mághá**, dear
usár, raise **dhávuṇ**, to bathe.
 [-i-] in Aw. **sikh**, learn **miṭṭhá**, sweet
nikhid, good for nothing, < *nikṣipta*.
 [-í-] in Aw. **sír**, sew **uḍík**, wait, < *udvikṣate*
líkh, louse, < *likṣá*.
 [-u-] in Aw. **sukká**, dry **russá**, enraged, < *ruṣyate*
kuṇṇí, vessel for heating milk, < *kuṇḍam*.
aṅgul, finger, but P. **uṅgal**.
 [-ú-] in Aw. **dhútá**, stupid, < *dhúrtakaḥ*
mútur, urine, < *mútra*
súvuṇ, to give birth, < *súte*.
 [-e-] in Aw. **devuṇ**, to give **berí**, boat, < *vetá*, (lexicon)
soneḍá, message, < *sandeshah*.
 [-o-] in Aw. **cokhá**, much, < *cokṣah*; Aw. **pot**, width of
 cloth, < *potta*, cloth, Sk. *lex. potaḥ*; and Aw.
khoṇuṇ, to snatch, < *skoṣati*.

Awankari stands with Punjabi and other Lahndi dialects for its preservation of vowels before consonant-groups. (Cf. Jain, § 17-25). Further examples—

- PI. [a]—**athrú**, tear, < *ashruḥ*
ḍassuṇ, to tell, to show, < *darshana*
gaḍh, knot, < *granthiḥ*.
 [á]—**ákhuṇ**, to say, < *ákhyānam*; **dátrí**, sickle, < *dátram*,
dáḍhá, strong, < *drāḍhyam*.
 [i]—**limmuṇ**, to plaster, < *limpati*
nixtá, went out, < *niṣkṛtaḥ*; **pippul**, pepper.
 [í]—Examples are rare indeed, **uḍík**, wait; **líkh**, louse; as
 above.
 [u]—**uḡgruṇ**, to wield, < *udgurati*
bujh, understand, < *budhyate*

mukki, kneading, < **mukti**.

[ú]—**sútur**, yarn, < **sútra**-; **dhútá**, stupid, < **dhúrtakaḥ**.

[e]—**bhed**, sheep; **Jeth**, husband's elder brother, < **jyeṣṭha**-.

[o]—**Jogá**, for, < **yogyam**; **cokhá**, much, < **cokṣaḥ**.

Exceptions have been discussed under "Modifications".

I. 1. iii. Final Vowels.

There is no doubt that final vowels have all disappeared in NIA. But final [-ú] in a number of Awankari words suggests that it must have survived through the analogy of Apabhramsa forms. It is not proper to dogmatically derive [-ú] from [-ukaḥ]. Future research must one day qualify these linguistic dogmas. Compare—

Aw. **hapú**, teeth

athrú, and **ha^hJá**, tears

mákhú, honey

sáú, gentleman

ḍau^hrá, tabor.

The locative termination [-e] has been preserved sporadically. Cf

ghare, in the house

girá^he, in the village

akvále, to Akwal (place).

It is just possible that Aw. **agge**, before, **picche**, after, **nerē**, near, and such other forms are preservations of the locative sense and not derived from hypothetical **ágrake**, etc.

Preservations of final vowels are not quite regular. The few relics may be properly called "sporadic preservations."

It may be noted here that short vowels had a better fate than the long ones. Even in an unaccented syllable, short vowels retained their quality*.

Compare—

Aw. **visá^h**, trust, < **vishvása**

but **diváli**, (**dípávali**).

Aw. **kirár**, Hindu, (**kiráta**-)

but **siálá**, winter (**shíta-kálah**).

Aw. **a^hdrakkhá**, or **A^hdrakkhá**, cloak

*This shows the existence of secondary stress which, however, could not save long vowels from change.

but **Jevái**, son-in-law, (jámátr)

Aw. **usár**, raise.

but **u^uniⁱ**, nineteen. etc.,

Also see the Chapter on Modifications.

Awankari has stubbornly preserved PI. vowel-gradation.

Aw. phir , be moved	pher , move (v).
mil , meet (v)	melá , fair (n).
pat , uproot	pár , break (v).
pal , be nourished	pál , bring up.
dudh , milk	dodhí , milkman.
ghut , press (v)	ghot , rub.
nát , close	nutená , closes.
bor , dip	burená , dips.
trut , be broken	tror , break.
máJh , buffalo	máJhá , of a buffalo (adj.).
lagh , pass	lágá , passage.
	also
khá , eat	khāiná , eats.
ro , weep	ruvāiná , makes weep.
hat , go, hetá , keep away	hetāiná , keeps it away
	etc.

I. 2. Single Consonants

Initial consonants, excepting PI [y], [sh] and [s] have remained intact in Awankari. The observations made by Dr. B. D. Jain (§ 137, 139, 141, 143, 144 and 146) hold practically good. Preservation of gutturals and [c-], [t-], [p-] is not regular and common. PI. voiced aspirates have lost their voice and aspiration and lowered the pitch of the next vowel in Punjabi. But Awankari has preserved such aspirates. Compare—

[gh]— ghaⁱdi , uvula,	ghá , grass, (ghásah)
ghaⁱntiká	
ghio , butter, (ghíta-)	holun , dissolve, (gholayati)
[jh]— Jhári , hedge, (jhátá)	Jham , shower, (jhampah)
Jhátá , hair, (")	Jhútá , swing, (jhupta-)
[dh]— dhovun , carry, (dhaukate) is a rare sound in PI.	
[dh]— dhāun (dhāmini), neck, dhúr , dust, (dhulih),	

dhū^ˆd, (sk. dhūma-?) Pk. dhuddha, mist.

[bh]—**bha^ˆdi**, noise, < bhaṇḍate, reviles; **bham**, earthquake, (bhūkampa-), **bhār**, load, (bhāra-); **bhuggá** (bhugna-), rotten.

The following words preserving PI [jh-] may be added to Jain's single example of P., Aw., **Jhaṭ** -, at once—

Aw. **Jhātá**, hair

Jhā^ˆt, pubic hair also **Jhu^ˆ**

Jhārī, hedge

Jhā^ˆJrā^ˆ, cymbals

Jhūtá, swing

Jham, shower.

Aw. words beginning with cerebrals are quite numerous, but as in Punjabi and other IA vernaculars, only a few can be traced back to Sanskrit. They developed profusely in Prakrit and grew even later. Compare—

Aw. **ṭair**, pony, (Pk. ṭara)

ṭiṭá^ˆná, (Pk. ṭiṭiyara), cicada

ṭopá, a measure (Pk. ṭopia)

ṭhullá, Pk. ṭhulla, fat, < sthūla-

ḍas, to sting, (Pk. ḍasai)

ḍoli, Pk. ḍolá, litter, < ḍolá

ḍhillá, Pk. ḍhilla-, loose.

PI. [n-] and [m-] behave exactly as they do in Punjabi. [v-] remains in tact. The change of [v-] to [b-] does exist in quite a big number of Awankari words, which appear to be loans. It is just possible that the dialect treated [v-] in two ways in order to differentiate words. Preservations—

viJá^ˆ (viváha-), marriage

valto^ˆá, cauldron, (vartula-loha-)

viṭh (viṣṭá), dung of birds

ví^ˆ (vimshati-) twenty

vai^ˆgí (vahiṅiká) carrying pole; **vaṭṭá** (vartih), stone

vagguṇ (valgati), flows, blows

etc.

The ratio of [v-] and [b-] words from PI [v-] is 4:1. The real tendency of the dialect is to preserve [v-].

PI [y-] appears in just a couple of words.

Aw. **ja^ˆvun**, to copulate, (yabhati)

ja^ˆddhá, copulated, (yabdha-).

[r-] and [l-] are confused in a few cases (see III. 1.).

As a rule, they are preserved. The unvoiced PI [s-] and the voiced [h-] occur regularly in Lahndi as in Western Punjabi.

Of the intervocalic single consonants, PI. [r-] and [l-] had the best of luck.

sau^ˆrá, father-in-law,

urlá, nearer, (avaral a-)

(shvashura-)

I

visur , forget, (vismar-)	báří , window, (dváram)
ár , awl, (ará)	ber , jujube, (badara-)
kúlá , soft, (komala-)	báluṇ , to burn, (dválayati)
hunálá , summer, (uṣṇa-kála-)	bukul , wrap, (valkala)
velá , time	etc.

[kh], [gh], [th], [dh], [ph], [bh], [sh], [ʃ], [s], and [h], were almost invariably reduced to a tone. The following preservations are exceptional and sporadic :—

paghur , melt, (pragharati, oozes)
mukhaḍ , a mouth cover, (mukha-√aḍḍ-)
cākhur , animal, (catuḥ-kṣura-)
muḍásá , face cover, (muṇḍa-vásakah)
hassuṇ , to laugh, (hasati)
ubási , yawn, (udvásanam)
bəhaṭṭá , amulet, (bābusthaḥ)
nás , nostril, (násá).

The following exceptions to the general cases of modification of intervocalic stops may be noted—

hik , one, < ekaḥ
caská , taste, (caṣakah)
Jhaṭ , at once, (jhaṭiti)
kaṭJuk , girl, (kanyaká)
aJJur , flock, (aja-ḍa)
kítá , done, (kṛtaḥ)
bərotá , a young tree, (badara + vaṭu-)
gítá , pebble, (guṭiká).

(cases of preservation or restoration of [-t-], are quite numerous).

gocrí , for, (gocara-)
kacúṇí , hair near ears, (kaca + suffix)
ḍagāutrá , a mendicant, (ḍaka-putraḥ)
oprá , strange, (apar-apar) as in P. uppar , above
copuṛ , anoint, (copati, touches)
ság , a vegetable, grass, (śhāka-).

[-k-] is also preserved or restored in many suffixes, such as **aJoká**, (to-day's).

[-v-] is not only modified along with the vowels, but it is also preserved in some words and restored by liaison in some others.

jivun < jivati, to live	navvá < navam, new
khəlváṛá < khala-vāṭa-, threshing floor	

khelva^g < khala-vañku-, bellows.

Also note liaison [-v-] in III. 4. iii.

Please refer to the Chapter on liaison (also 'see III. 4. iii.) and note the remarkable preservative tendency of the dialect. Even if it was restored it means the tendency has been there.

PI [-m-] occurs in Aw. **əmassiá[~]**, which is a loan or stsm. [-n-] is preserved only in a few numerals—

unatri^í, 29 It may be a loan.

u[^]nni^í, 19 ditto

unhattər, 69 ditto

but **uṇāve[~]**, 89, **uṇási^í**, 79, **uṇtá[^]li^í**, 39.

[-ṇ-] is always preserved, as in—

kulakhṇá (kulakṣaṇa-), **kaṇuk** (kaṇiká), wheat
unfortunate

kāṇá (kāṇaḥ), one-eyed **gaṇ** (√gaṇ-), to count

ka[^]guṇ (kaṅkaṇa), bracelet **sávuṇ** (shrávaṇa), a month.

I. 3. Consonant Groups.

Double consonants have remained unchanged except under conditions of stress (see VIII. 4. i(4)). Dr. Jain has mentioned only stops plus stops (§ 152). Examples of double nasals are given below—

[-nn]—**tunnun**, to thrust, (cf. P. **tunná**) like Aw. **bhannun**, to break.

anne[~] (obl.) corn, < anna-.

Examples of other double consonants that are preserved in Awankari may also be considered—

[-ll]—**mallun**, to occupy, < Sk. mallati, keeps

ullugh (ullanghati), to cross.

culli^í (cullih), fire-place

hallo, move, √ hall-, to expand.

[-ss]—**nissur**, to be free, < Sk. nissarati

jhassun, to rub hard, < Sk. jhassati.

Unaspirated+aspirated homorganic groups are also preserved in Awankari. Examples—

baddhá (baddhaḥ), tied

hacchá (svaccha-), clear

pucchuṇ (pṛcchati), to ask.

Most of the heterorganic groups in Awankari are inherited from Prakrit. Only a few groups from PI have come down intact. They are—

- [**ṅg**]—**ə́gár**, coal, (aṅgāra-)
- bhaṁgá**, squint-eyed, (? + apāṅgaḥ)
- ā́gul**, finger (aṅguli-).
- [**n̄J**]—**mūJ**, a grass, (mun̄já)
- pīJuṇ**, to card, (pin̄jayati).
- [**ṇḍ**]—**bhaṇḍuṇ** (bhaṇḍate), to revile
- raṇḍí**, widow, (raṇḍá, woman).
- tuṇḍá**, decrepit, (tuṇḍa-).

Note also [**ṇḍ**] preserved in **buṇḍá**, ear-drop, (binduḥ).

The group [r+consonant] has, as a rule, assimilated [r], but the following relics have been preserved :—

- vartávuṇ**, to distribute, (vartate)
- sarvat**, all, (sarvasva and sarvatra).

The group [consonant+r] was expected to have been preserved, but it is not always so. [**-tr-**] is invariably unchanged. But other groups have behaved in two ways. The number of preservations is almost equal to that of modifications and the exact tendency of the dialect is yet uncertain. A study of all the neighbouring dialects and detailed statistics might clear the point. See also III. 2. vii(b). Note also the development of Svarabhakti in the preserved groups.

- [**kr**]—**caḱrí**, disc, (cakra-).
- [**gr**]—**girá** (grāma-), village; **girá**, morsel, (grāsa-);
- < **-dgr-** in **ugraṇḍuṇ** (udgrahaṇa-), to collect.
- [**dr**]—**nīḍur**, sleep, (nidrá); **bhaḍḍur**, eczema, (dadruḥ).
- [**dhr**]—**vadhri** (vardhra-), strap.
- [**br**]—**ubbur**, speak, (ud-bru-)
- [**bhr**]—**bhirá**, brother (bhrátṛ); **abhruk**, mica, (abhraka-);
- bharJái**, brother's wife, (bhrátuḥ-bhāryá).
- [**pr**]—**parseo**, perspiration, (prasveda-)
- parṇálá**, drain, (praṇála-).

[**tr**]—All examples of preservation of the group in WP. are found also in Awankari. Also note—

- kalvatrí**, saw, (karapatra-)
- ṇutrá**, sonless, (aputrakaḥ)
- Jotur**, thong, (yoktram)
- khetrí** (kṣetram), crop
- netrá**, churning thong, (netram)
- etc.

Note.—No example of preservation of [jr], [ghr], [dhr], and of [non-plosive+r] has been found in Awankari. I doubt if the remark of Dr. Jain at page 80 that "in WP., Lahndi and Sindhi, the groups consonant+r, especially dental stops+r, have remained unchanged" is true.

4. Preserved Words.

As the result of preservation of PI sounds in Awankari, a large number of words, some of which are unrecognizable in many a NIA language, exist intact in this dialect. We speak them almost exactly as the Aryans of old did. The usage of some words, however, has slightly changed.

Examples—

Aw. **veg**, lust

bh̃ḍár, collection of
women for spinning

phul, flower

phal, fruit

phál, blade

bhāḍá, utensil

bhár, burden

purāṇá, old

velá, time

kāṇá, one-eyed

khur, hoof

khál, hide, skin

loḥá, iron

pare, away

āḡul, finger

āḡ, mark, limb

hár, garland

putrá, to sons

mútre-c, in urine

sútrá, threaded amulet

gol, round

nissur, complete

baddhá, tied

kuḍul, coil

saJJá, fresh

udhár, debt

bhar, fill

maḥJ, neck

cetur, a month

citrá, tiger

etc., etc.

Note—Please also refer to tatsama and semitatsama words in Awankari listed in the Chapter on loans.

The preservation of Skt. *asmat*,* *tusmat* in *asmattur*, like ourselves, (cf. *hamátur*, like ourselves) and *tusmattur*, like yourself, is interesting.

I. 5. Stress.

Awankari has normally preserved Sanskrit stress-accent. For exceptions please refer to Dr. Jain's "Phonology of Punjabi", (pp. 93ff.) and the Chapter on "accent" in this treatise (VIII. 4.).



EXTINCTIONS



EXTINCTIONS

1. INITIAL.
2. (i) MEDIAL.
(ii) SYNCOPATION.
(iii) HAPLOLOGY.
3. FINAL.
4. GENERAL LOSSES.

II. 1. Initial.

Initially, sounds are generally clear. Preservation of vowels as well as consonants is a characteristic tendency of the NIA languages. But they suffer terribly under conditions of stress. Aphaeresis of initial vowels in pre-accented position may be noted—

Aw. **dhelá**, half picé, < Sk. ardha-illa

reṭhá, soap-nut, < ariṣṭakah

dhái, 2 1/2, < ardha-trīya-

háṛ, a month, < áśādha-

ris, envy, < irṣyá, Pk. irissa-

khárá, arena, < akṣavāṭakah.

Sometimes the whole syllable drops, although initial consonants

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are believed to be more obstinate than vowels. Compare—

ḍhillā, loose, < shithila-

lāvun, curry, < salavaṇa-

The following PI initial sounds have lost themselves in Awankari by modifications—

[sh-], [y-], [ṛ-], [ḷ-], [ṣ]

We have inherited no PI word beginning with [ī], [u], [e], [ai] or [au].

All initial consonant groups have been modified to single consonants. Extinction of a large number of consonants as parts of groups in the beginning of words has been inherited from Prakrits.

II. 2. i. Medial.

Medial consonants have, of course, suffered more than vowels. Vowels have, again, disappeared mainly under conditions of stress.

Aw. **lāmútrā**, longish, < lamba-uttara or lambatara

kaṛchī, ladle, < Pk. kaḍacchu-

athrá, restless, < asthira-

parṇivun, to marry, < pariṇayati

do^htrā, daughter's son, < dauhitra-

ḍarokhá, lamp-stand, < díparakṣakaḥ

liṭh, spleen, < Sk. píhā, Pk. pilihá

parkhun, to test, < parikṣaṇam.

Consonants in the interior of words have disappeared in many ways.

(a) [k], [g], [c], [j], [t] and [d] disappeared in MI, leaving a [y] glide which was not inherited by Awankari. Total extinction of these stops is the rule in this dialect.

The following forms show that the glide was never felt by the Apabhramsha through which Awankari has grown—

cāuk, square, < catuṣka-

vannī, bride, < vanitā

pīlá, yellow, < pítalaḥ

luhár, blacksmith, < loha-kāra-

pevá^hd, wrongside of bedstead, < pádánta-

kiárá, field-bed, < kedāraḥ

cháli, goat, < chāgalikā

dūṇá, two-fold, < dvi-guṇaḥ

sūī, needle, < sūcikā.

(b) Intervocalic stops which survived or left a glide after the Prakrit stage have dropped since then.

tā̃, then, < Pk. taá, Sk. tadā

vá, wind, < Pk. váta, váu

tá, heat, < Pk. táva-

má, mother, < Pk. máda-, mán

talá, tank, < Pk. talága, taláva.

(c) PI. [-apa-] became [-ava-] in MI. It is being restored by liaison, but there is a large number of words in which it is lost.

āutrā, childless, < aputrakāḥ

cārá, wide, < capataḥ

ādhurā, half-done, < ardha-purakāḥ

le, plaster, < lepa-

dhūṇī̃, smouldering fire, < dhūpanam.

(d) Of the aspirates [ch] and [jh] never existed as intervocalic singles even in PI. Cerebrals have preserved at least their consonantal quality. But others have disappeared as consonants, leaving tone-effects on the preceding vowels.

sā́, gentleman, < sādhu

sə́gõ, lizard, < sarpa godhá

dá̃vuñ, to place, < drághate

ní̃õ, nail, < nakham

sẽrá, fillet, < shekhara-

saũ, oath, < shapatha-

etc.

(e) [-sh-], [-s-], [-ʃ-], have also died out as consonants leaving tone-effects as their memorials raised on the preceding vowels. Sometimes the tone is also lost.

asukhá, difficult, < Sk. asukhaḥ

aṭháṭh, 68, < aṣṭa-ṣaṣṭiḥ

dá̃, ten, < dashan

ghá̃, grass, < ghása-

etc.

(f) [-h-] has disappeared as an independent consonant.

mághá, dear, < Sk. mahárga-

mā̃rā, cook, < mahárāja

ghiñ, take, < grabaṇa.

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More examples are given in IV. 6.

(g) Pl. [-n-] disappears in some inflexional forms. See Dr. Jain § 140, (2).

Examples—

-ánám, in **ghoríá**, to horses

ghoríá, to mares

although it is preserved in **ghore-ná**, of the horse.

-ni, -áni, in **akkhiá**, eyes; **gallá**, talks.

-ini, in **da^hi**, curd, < dadhíni

etc.

[-m-] always loses its consonantal quality by modification.

Sometimes its nasality is also lost, but its 'labiality' does survive, generally. Examples—

kuará, bachelor, < Sk. kumárah

gáutur, cow's urine, < Sk. gomútra-

kúlá, soft, < Sk. komalakah

sān, mistress, < swāminī

dhān, neck, < Sk. dhāminī.

(h) Except in cases mentioned in I. 2.(7), and III. 1., [-y-] and [-v-] have disappeared. The restoration through liaison has not yet extended to all forms. Examples of extinctions are—

der, husband's younger brother, < Sk. devara-

viJá, marriage, < Sk. viváha-

kholará, arena, < Sk. khala-vātakah

amassiá, new moon day, < amāvasyá

aithá, sat, < Sk. áviṣṭha-

dei, name, < Sk. devī

and

á, come, < á-yá, or ává, Pk. ávei

mor, peacock, < mayúra-

[-y-], as Turner (§ 26) says, was the first of the intervocalic consonants to disappear, though it is perhaps the first to be restored in Awankari.

Very few consonant groups from Sanskrit have survived in Awankari. Many consonants were lost by assimilation. Some were devoured, drowned or killed. The following losses may be briefly enumerated—

(a) In a group [stop+stop], the first one loses its personality (see III. 2. i.).

(b) The stop loses its organic position in the following groups—
[m+p], [m+b], [n+d], as a rule, and [m+bh] and [n+d], in a large number of words (see III. 2. iii.).

(c) A nasal loses its entity in the groups [+n], [n+dh], [n+th], [m+ph], [n+kh], [n+gh], [n+ch], [n+th] and [mbh] with a few exceptions (see III. 2. iii.).

Also in [gn], [kn], [tn], [dm], [ns], [ms], [mś], and in a few cases of the group [nk] (see III. 2. iii.).

(d) [-y-] was always a second member of the group and it was lost (see III. 2. vi.).

(e) [-v-] was also a second member. It made self-sacrifice except in the prefixed group in Sk. *udvartanam*, > Aw. *vaṭṭā* (see III. 2. ix.).

(f) [-r-] as a first member is almost always sacrificed (see III. 2. vii.).

(g) [-r-] as a second member disappears except in the groups enumerated in I. 3. Also see III. 2. vii(b), for examples.

(h) [-l-] in a consonant group [-lg-] or [-lp-] is always lost.

(i) Sibilants drop in

[ks], [ts] [ps] and sibilant+stop.

It means that in their struggle for existence semi-vowels surrendered in all fields. Sibilants were also beaten. [l]s made self-sacrifices at a couple of places. Casualties among [r]s were enormous; many were killed, several injured and only a few survived along with their allies. Nasals disappeared from many of their possessions. Stops proved to be the fittest, although some were killed in a civil war and some annihilated by nasals.

II. 2. ii. Syncopation.

Sometimes under conditions of stress the whole syllable in a word disappears.

muhāth, threshold, < Sk. mukha-kāṣṭha-

sago, lizard, < Sk. sarpa-godhā

nigh, heat, < Sk. nidāgha-

gautur, cow's urine, < Sk. go-mūtra-

sūr, swine, < Sk. shūkara-

siālā, winter, < Sk. shīta-kālakāḥ

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bham, earthquake, < Sk. bhūkampa-

vith, space, < Sk. vītasūh

kənhārā, shoulder, < Sk. skandha-tāṭakāḥ

ārsi, mirror, < Sk. ādarśikā.

This tendency is still growing. Note syncopation of Awankari syllables in the following words.

səkuttur, step-son, < **sāu**~**kun**-**puttur**

makkhā, I say, < **māi**~**ākhā**

ghuṇā~**dā**, pyorrhea, < **ghuṇ**-**kha**~**dā**

kiccur, how long, < **kitṇā**~**cir**

pəleṭhā, first born, < **pai**~**lā**-**Jeṭhā**.

Rhythmic equivalence is maintained by syncopation of more than one syllable:—

pitṛāu~**rā**, wife's paternal uncle, < Sk. pitṛavya-shvashuraḥ

mālḥāu~**rā**, wife's maternal uncle, < Sk. mātula-shvashuraḥ

sādḥā, wife's sister's husband, < Sk. shyālī-voḍhukāḥ

chit, calico cloth, < Sk. kṣipta-citra

atro, day after tomorrow, < Sk. adya-tṛtīyāḥ

dirāṇī, husband's younger brother's wife, < Sk. devara-rajñī

vəṇjārā, merchant, < Sk. vāṇijya-kāṛakāḥ.

II. 2. iii. Haplology.

Extinction by haplology is also quite common.

Examples—

Aw, **bhukh**, hunger, < Sk. bubhukṣā

dīuṭ wick, < Sk. dīpa-vartīḥ

dhivār, day, < Sk. divasa-vāra-

kuṛmeṭā, child's father-in-law's son, < **kuṛum**-**beṭā**

luhā~**dā**, iron vessel, < loha-bhāṇḍāḥ

du~**dā**, having two teeth, < Sk. dvi-dantakāḥ

cutā~**lī**, 44, < catur-catvārimśat

māsī, mother's sister, < Sk. matṛ-svasā.

Further extinctions may be studied in the chapter on 'Contamination', where medial sounds in groups have disappeared by blending of different forms of words.

II. 3. Final.

Subject to the proviso already noted at p. 11, all vowels and consonants in final position have disappeared in Awankari as in other NIA languages.

[a] in **uṭh**, camel, (uṣṭra-) **kach**, armpit, (kakṣa-).

[i] in **nī^hdur**, sleep, (nidrá) **kaṇuk**, wheat, (kaṇiká).

[i] in **bhain**, sister, (bhaginī)

akh, eye, (akṣiḥ)

agg, fire (agniḥ)

[u] in **ta^hd**, fibre, (tantu-)

sas, mother-in-law, (shvashru-).

[u] in **dhadhur**, eczema, (dadru-).

Note—Visarga had already disappeared in Prakrit.

[-am] disappears, except in the adverbial forms—

akhān, saying, < akhyānam

alus, laziness, < ālasyam

but **heo^h**, thus, < evam.

Sometimes whole syllables drop down for want of stress or as the result of the death of the component sounds.

Examples—

Aw. **vá**, air, (vātaḥ)

tá, heat, (tāpaḥ)

jí, life, (jīvaḥ)

jí, living being, (jīvat)

savvá, 1 1/4, (sapādaḥ)

so, mourning, (shokaḥ)

haríḥ, myrobalan, (haritakī)

ává, kiln, (āpākaḥ)

assi, 80, (ashītiḥ),

pa^hjá^h, 50, (pañcāśat)

gabhrú, youth, (garbhard-
paḥ)

khó^h, well, (kupaḥ)

aṣṭa^hlí, 48, (aṣṭa.catvārimśat)

bhirá, brother, (bhrāta)

se, to wet, (sveda-).

Extinctions in words which have become enclitics in Awankari are remarkable—

Aw. **utte**, above, < Sk. uttare

dár, towards, cf. H. iddhar

kāṇ, for, < Sk. kāraṇa

ár, like, < Sk. prakāra, ākāra

na^h, of, < Sk. santa-

-c, in, H. bic

-e^h, as in **malkānie^h** (voc.), H. are

te, and, < Sk. ante

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Ji, that, so that, < Sk. yadi, yena
etc.

Morphologists will tell us separately that hundreds of grammatical terminations have been lost in Modern Indo-Aryan languages.

II. 4. General Losses.

Our losses since the PI. stage are not only confined to single sounds or syllables. Many words have also disappeared. A reader of Sanskrit Dictionary rightly feels that he has inherited very little from OIA. Extinction of words is due to two main causes, namely (i) homonymity and (ii) synonymity—vide author's "Hindi Semantics."

Words that were to give the same phonological results were not all retained. To avoid confusion of sounds one was kept while others were given up as useless. (Some, indeed, were extended, by various phonetic tactics, to give different meanings.) For example, in Prakrit. káya, would be from Sk. káyá, or kákāḥ, or káca. Only one word meaning "crow" was accepted. Others died out.

Pk. asa may be from Sk. √as, to be, √ash, to pervade, √ash, to eat, asat, existing, and so on. Semantic confusions were avoided in all modern Indo-Aryan languages.

Words reduced to single sounds became so indistinct and inefficient that they were given up, as the following—

Sk. akati, moves	Sk. acati, speaks
atati, goes constantly	okhati, wanders
ubhati, covers	rphati, kills.

Hundreds of such words were reduced to nothing but vowels and were destroyed as useless instruments of language.

Out of many words giving the same meaning, only one was usually selected, others being dropped as superfluous. If another word of the synonymous group was taken, it underwent a strong semantic change. A study of the Amar Koṣa in the light of Awankari vocabulary confirms our point. For example, out of a number of words for 'sacrifice' only yajn̄a > Aw. Jag, has been taken. Similarly from the group of words for 'moss',

shaivála > Aw. sēvāl, has been adopted; and from the group of a large number of words for 'earth',

bhūmih, earth > Aw. bhui, is kept.

Thousands of words thus disappeared in Modern Indian languages.

Generally, many words became extinct by disuse. Many arts and sciences died out and technical terms connected with them were lost. Several ceremonies disappeared. Philosophy and philosophical terms declined. With the rise of new life, new wants, new circumstances of life, new words appeared in the place of old and defunct forms. Many words did not enter the tract.

It is the totality of all these losses that has today made Sanskrit, or even a Prakrit, such a difficult language to our students in schools and colleges.



MODIFICATIONS



MODIFICATIONS*

1. SINGLE CONSONANTS.
2. CONSONANT GROUPS.
 - (i) STOP + STOP.
 - (ii) STOP + NASAL.
 - (iii) NASAL + STOP.
 - (iv) NASAL + NASAL.
 - (v) NASAL + SIBILANT.
 - (vi) GROUPS WITH [y].
 - (vii) GROUPS WITH [r].
 - (a) r + CONSONANT.
 - (b) CONSONANT + r.
 - (viii) GROUPS WITH [l].
 - (ix) GROUPS WITH [v].
 - (x) GROUPS WITH A SIBILANT.
3. VOWELS.
 - (a) UMLAUT.
 - (b) GUNA-VRDDHI FORMS.
 - (i) MIXTURES.
 - (ii) INFLUENCE OF [-h-]

*The Chapter is more or less a supplement to Jain's work. His observations have not been repeated.

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- (iii) TREATMENT OF [ɾ].
 - (iv) TREATMENT OF [ai].
 - (v) TREATMENT OF [au].
 - (vi) SVARABHAKTI.
 - (vii) GUNA-VRDDHI.
4. VOWELS IN CONTACT.
- (i) GENERAL AND DIPHTHONGAL TREATMENT.
 - (ii) MONOPHTHONGAL TREATMENT.
 - (iii) LIAISON.

III. 1. Single Consonants.

Initial stops were generally preserved while many of the inter-vocalic and all the final stops were dropped. Modifications of the consonants in the following are unusual and exceptional.

Examples—

ṭikká, mark, < tilaka-

ḍivut, wick, (dīpa- vartih); **ḍáḍhá**, strong, (dārdhya-)

ḍanná, stick, (daṇḍa-) (Also refer to the chapter on Cerebralization).

dhirkhāṇ, carpenter, (takṣan-)

dhunni, navel, (tunḍa-)

dhágá, thread, (Pk. tagga-)

tetrá, spotted, < citrakāḥ

vattur sākḥ, vegetable, < patra-shākhá, or -shāka.

For more examples, see Chapters on Aspiration, Deaspiration, Vocalization and Metathesis.

Regarding interchange of initial palatals, dentals and cerebrals in initial position compare with Chatterjee p. 482-3, the above examples and **ṭuṇḍá** < tuṇḍa-, **caul** < taṇḍula-.

Besides Aw. **hovun**, to be, < bhavati, PI initial [bh-] > [h-] is available in **haghí**, sieve, divider, < bhagniká. Also compare the Awankari doublets **bhalká**, and **halká**, meaning "mad".

Aspirates have generally proved firm and steadfast.

Irregular modifications of [n-] > [l-] in

lilári, dyer, < nīla-kārin-

lāmí, butter, < navañita-

lakhnaú, Lucknow, H. lakhnau

and [m-] to [n-] in **núṭ**, close, H. **miṭ** may be noted.

[r-] and [l-] were sometimes confused.

olun, to sift, < √lul, √lol

luggá, deserted, < rugṇaḥ

ral, be mixed, < √lal.

[sh-] and [ṣ-] generally changed to [s] as in Punjabi.

Examples—

súr, swine, < shukara-

saddhá, male buffalo, < sandaḥ

sí, cold, < shīta

so[^]ná, beautiful, < shobhana-

The following irregular modifications of sibilants may be noted—

chitá[^]li, forty six, < ṣaṭ-catvárimśat

chiva[^]Já, fifty-six, < ṣaṭ-pan[^]cáśhat

shrí[^], a tree, < shirīṣa-

habhá, all, < sarva-

haggun excrement, < shakṛta-

and [ṣ] in numerals **che[^]**, 6 ; **ch[^]bbi**, 26 ; **chatrí**, 36 ; **chiáṭh**, 66 ; **chihattur**, 76 ; **chiási**, 86 ; **chiánve**, 96.

[y-] is almost invariably changed to [j-] as in—

Jandrá, lock, (yantra-)

Jāule, a wheat preparation, (yavágú-)

Juár, a millet, (yavákára-)

Jutti, shoe, (Pk. juttia, Sk. yuktiká).

The change of [v-] to [b-] exists in quite a large number of words which may be very early loans from the east.

baddul, cloud, < vardala-

bā[^]trí, wife, < vadhu-+suffix

bit, body, < vitta-

baJ, injury, < vajra-

Intervocalic [-k-], [-g-], [-c-], [-j-], [-t-], [-d-] disappeared. In some words they were modified for differentiation.

ghiddá, taken, < Pk. gihita, Sk. gṛhita-

kirár, shopkeeper, < Sk. kirāta-

thabbá, bundle, < Sk. stabakaḥ

For doubling compare Pk. ekka-, < Sk. ekaḥ

bá[^]rá[^], twelve, < dvádasha-

já[^]rá[^], eleven, < Pk. ekārāsa (Geiger p. 59), < Sk. ekādasha-

poc, young ones, < pota, *potya.

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Sanskrit cerebrals have generally developed to [ɾ] or tone and [ɾ] in the case of aspirates. But it appears that the growth of some words was retarded at a stage beyond which it would have been confused with some other word.

Examples—

[t] > [ɾ] —**kaurá**, bitter, < kaṭuka-
bhárá, fare, < bhāṭakaḥ
khárá, arena, < akṣavāṭaḥ
puṛá, packet, < puṭaḥ
vaṛí, pellet of pulse, < vaṭiká.

[-d-] > [ɾ] —**cúr**, dove-tail, < cūḍaḥ
pír, pain, < píḍá.

[-th-] > tone + ɾ —
lo^hrun, to roll, < loṭhati
pí^hrá, seat, < pīṭhakaḥ.

[db] > tone + ɾ —
há^hɾ, a month, < āśāḍha-.

But also note the Prakritic stage in

[-t] > [-d] —
godá, knee, < guṭiká, Cf. Aw. **guṭṭí**, wrist, H. **gor**
bedá, foolish, < viṭaḥ, vṛddhi to make adj.
rodá, clean'shaven, < roṭate, or ruṇḍa, ruḍa
táɾ, to peep, < √tád.

In a number of words this [-d-] has further changed to cerebral [l] and in the speech of Hindus to lateral [-l].

tələ, tank, < Pk. taláva, Sk. taḍagaḥ
Ja^hlá, stupid, < Sk. jaḍaḥ
kol, with, < Sk. kroḍa-
so^hlá, 16, < Sk. ṣoḍasha-.

The tendency had started in the Sanskrit age. Compare the doublets **coḍaḥ**, and **colaḥ**.

[-p] has usually become [-v] in Awankari. If this [-v] was lost at some stage, it was restored.

uṭhávun, to raise, < uttiṣṭhāpayati
uḍávun, to fly, < uḍḍāpayati
kalvattur, saw, < karapatra-
chiva^hJá, forty six, < ṣaṭ-pan^hcāśat
leví, paste, < lepa-
bhəṇvíá, brother-in-law, < bhāgini-patiḥ

vaṭvāṇī, casing oneself, < varta-pāṇiyam.

[-p-] > [-v-] is a case of modification from Pali. Compare—

Pk. **kavi**, < **kapi**

vyāvata, < **vyāpṛta** (Geiger P. 56)

kovā (kopa), **cāva** (cāpa), **dīva** (dīpa).

Aspirate stops, excepting cerebrals, were modified in Prakrit into **[-h-]**, which was changed to a tone on the preceding vowel.

ṇāũ, nail, < **nakham**

mō'rõ, first, < **mukhara-**

rāũ, stay, < IE **regh-**, Eng. **rigid**

lāũkā, light, < ***laghukkaḥ**

gõā, dung, < **gūthā**, Pk. **guhā**

gū̃, excrement, „ „

vẽlā, free, < **viphala-**

lõ, longing, < **lobha-**

dãī̃, curd, < **dadhini**

rā̃vuṇ, to sow, < **rādhati**.

Note Pk. **[-h-]** in the following, preserved under conditions of stress—

luhā̃dā, iron vessel, < **loha-bhāṇḍa-**

muhā̃drā, face, < **mukha-antara-**

kuhā̃rī, axe, < **kūthāra-**

(-th- > -h- is unusual)

sakkā, real relative, < **sakhā**, is irregular.

PI. **[-n-]** generally becomes **[-ṇ-]** and PI **[-ṇ-]** is usually **[-n-]** in Awankari. Examples—

pāṇī, water, < **pāṇiyam**

utāṇā, upside down, < **uttānaḥ**

thaṇ, teats, < **stana-**

taṇ, stretch, < **tanoti**

and

pəṇālā, drain, < **praṇāla-**

phaṇīar, cobra, < **phaṇī**

pəṇīvuṇ, to marry, < **pariṇīyate**

ghinnuṇ, to take, < **grahaṇam**.

Words containing sounds traceable to PI. **[-m-]** show three historical stages. The oldest words are those in which PI. **[-m-]** is changed to **[-ṽ-]**, then nasality was lost and only **[-v-]** remained and the third group of words contain **[-u]** or **[-āu]** < **[-ṽ-]** < **[-m-]** and

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sometimes only nasality.

Examples—

(i)

bhə^ˈvá, turn, < bhramayati

sə^ˈvák, a millet, < shyámáka-

Jitvá^ˈ, which number, < yatama-

(ii)

dávun, rope for bed-stead, < dámani

sává, green, < shyáma-

dávni, an ornament, < dámini

ghə^ˈva^ˈJi, pitcher-stand, < ghaṭa-maṇcika.

(iii)

dhān, neck, < dhāmini

ne^ˈdrá, subscription at marriage, < nimantrakah

pá^ˈ, itch, < páman

kúlá, soft, < komala-

loi, blanket, < loma + -iká.

The confusion between [-r-] and [-l-] exists. The examples of [-r-] > [-l-] in Awankari are quite plenty. Compare the fact that [l] for [r] in Prakritic age was a characteristic of low-class people.

cá^ˈli, forty, < catvárimshat

paráli, bed, < paláliḥ

kalvattur, saw, < karapatra-

uláruṇ, to throw up, < ullálayati

kə^ˈrará, humerous, < karálakah

udhálá, rape, < uddhára-

All sibilants became [-h-] and then tone. If the preceding sound is a consonant, [-h-] is still there.

[-sh-]

kalho^ˈtá, a big pitcher, < kalasha- + suffix

sə^ˈne^ˈtá, message, < sandeshah

ko^ˈ, a mile and a half, < krosha-

ā^ˈn, hail stone, < ashini

sū^ˈrā, father-in-law, < shvashura-

[-ʔ]

há^ˈt, a month, < āśāḍha

po^ˈ, a month, < pauṣa

má^ˈ, a pulse, < māṣa

kho^ˈ, snatch, < skoṣati.

[-s-]

sá[^], breath, Pk. *sāsa*, Sk. *shvāsa*-**mo[^]lā**, pestle, Sk. *musala m***visā[^]**, trust, Sk. *vishvāsa*

[-y-] had disappeared leaving a glide, which again developed to [-j-] liaison and in cases even to [-J-], as

khi[^]Jnā, fretting, < *kṣīyate*.

In some cases [-j-] or [-J-] has been used by mistake (or analogy) **vi[^]jā**, or **vi[^]lā**, marriage, < *vivāha*

[-v-] has been reduced to a vowel, losing its consonantal value entirely.

Also see -ava-, and other combinations in III. 4. ii.

[-h-] usually, turns into tone, but sometimes it unites with the neighbouring plosive to make it aspirate. Examples :—

lo[^]ā, iron, (*loha*-); **do[^]trā**, grandson, (*dauhitra*)**bā[^]**, arm, (*bāhu*-), **se[^]rā**, chaplet, (Pk. *schara*)**dhī**, daughter, < *duhitā***pidhrāu[^]rā**, wife's uncle, < *pitravya-shvashura*-**dadhiāu[^]rā**, wife's grandfather, < *tāta-shvashura*-**māghā**, dear, < *mahārgha*-**nibh**, pull on, < *nirvahati*, > *nibhahati***ghin**, take, < *grahaṇam***dhivār**, day, < Pk. *dih-vār*, < Sk. *divasa-vār***lph**, spleen, < Pk. *pilihā*, < Sk. *plihā***vighā**, a measure of land, < *vigraha*-

III. 2. Consonant Groups.

Almost all consonant groups, excepting some with [-r-] as second member, have become single consonants initially. In the interior of words they have remained double as in Prakrit, only under conditions of stress. This is also true in the case of homorganic groups. Sometimes the singled consonants have formed new groups in alliance with succeeding consonants.

Compare—

kukkuṛ, cock, (*kukkuṭa*-); **kukṛā[~]**, to cocks**tittur**, partridge, (*tittara*-); **tetre metre**, checkered**uccā**, high, (*ucca*-); **ucāvá[~]**, that can be raised; **uckā**, by guess.

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bhuJJun, to get fried, (bhrjjati); **bhuJná**, frying
pippul, pepper, (pippala-); **piplá mĩt**, peppermint
 and

ughruṇ (udghurati), to raise
sat, seven, (sapta-); **satcār**, seven and four
sap, snake, (sarpa-); **sappi**, she-snake; **sapgo**[^], lizard.

Consonant groups offer, generally speaking, the same changes as in Punjabi with a few exceptions. Awankari, however, appears to contain a poorer stock of examples than Punjabi. Cf. Jain. § 153ff.*

III. 2. i. Stop+stop.

[-tk-]—No other example is available.

[-tk-]—**ukkuṇ** (utkramati), to err; **ukká**, at all
sakári, granary, (satkaroti).

[-tkh-] and [-dg-] no more examples in Awankari.

[-dg-]—**ugluṇ** (udgalati); also **ugáli**, chewing the cud.

[-dgh-]—**ughur**, raise, < udghurati.

[-kt-]—**rattá**, red, (rakta-); **Jut**, yoked, (yukta)

muk, finished, (mukta-) is unusually modified for differentiation. Cf. Aw. **muttá**, sent.

[-pt-]—**littá** (liptah), plastered.

For [-kth-], [-bd-], [-gdh-], [-th-] and [-dbh-] Awankari offers no more examples.

[-bdh-]—**luddhi**, kite, (lubdha-)

jaddhi, mated, (yabdha-).

[-tph-]—**upphul**, bump, < utphalati.

The following may be added to Dr. Jain's enumeration—

[-d-c-]—**ucṭuṇ**, to sever, (uṭ-√caṭ-).

[-db-]—**abbur**, speak, (udbrú-).

III. 2. ii. Stop+nasal.

[-gn-]—**luggá** (rugna-), deserted.

* I shall add notes to Dr. Jain's examples in general. Exceptions will be denoted by 'E'.

[-jn̄-]—Initial - **nátá**, relationship, (jn̄átitva-) (E.) and
Játá, known, (jn̄átah).

[cn̄] - **jác**, manner, (yácn̄a).

For other groups exactly the same examples as are given by Dr. Jain from WP. are available in Awankari.

Add [bhn̄]—**khubbhun** (kṣubbhṇāti), to stick in.

[dhn̄]—**bund**, anus, (Sk. budhna-, Pk. bundha, root.)

III. 2. iii. Nasal+stop.

Awankari considerably differs in its treatment of the groups nasal+stop. Some groups behave alike in Punjabi and Lahndi.

[-nk̄-]—**khəlvāḡ**, bellows, (khala-vaṅku-)

suḡḡ, shrink, (saṅkuṭati).

[-n̄c̄-]—**ikvāḡJá**, 51, and other fifties

kuḡJi, key, (kun̄cika).

[-nt̄-]—(**sukh**) **sáḡd**, < shānti-

(loḡ) **vāḡdā**, desirous, < -manta-.

[-ṇt̄-]—**vāḡd**, divide, < vaṇṭati

ghāḡdī, uvula, < ghaṇṭikā.

[-mb-]—Awankari has **lammá**, long, not **lambá**,

cummun, to kiss, (cumbati)

lamkun, to hang, (lambate)

kuḡam, child's father-in-law (kuṭumba-).

Awankari is consistent in modifying the group [-mb-] to [-mm-] or [-m-] as the case may be. For a couple of exceptions see VIII. 3. ii. (Loans).

Awankari reduces even Punjabi [-mb-] to [-mm-] as in—

əmmur'əar, Amritsar, P. **ambarsar**

am, mango, P. **amb**.

etc.

The group [-mp-] is modified like [-mb-] to [-mm-].

Compare with Punjabi—

limmun, to plaster, P. **limbaná**

kampá, trembling, P. **kambaná**

tumnáḡ, carding, P. **tumbaná**

jham, shower, (jhampa-).

The groups nasal + voiced unaspirated stops are treated in

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Awankari exactly as in Punjabi.

Examples are—

[-ŋg-] is preserved after a short vowel. When it is preceded by a long vowel, [ŋ] turns into nasality. For example:—

bhāiṅgá, squint-eyed, (? -apāṅga-).

[-n̄j-]—The same as in Punjabi.

[ŋd] > [-nn-] or [-n]- Add examples:—

Aw. **thun**, lips, < tuṇḍa-

muṇṇá, three-fourth, < muṇḍaḥ

ḍanní, stalk, < daṇḍa-

hərnāulí, castor, < eraṇḍa-

gaṅn, enlarged eyelash, < gaṇḍi, Pa. gaṇḍa, swelling.

[ŋd] is preserved in about an equal number of words. For example see I. 3.

[-nd-]—The same as in Punjabi.

Other groups with nasals as first members are treated as in Punjabi (Jain § 155), excepting the groups nasal plus aspirated consonant. The new idea about such groups is that the nasal loses itself into the stop in— [E]

[ŋkh]—**sagh**, throat, (shaṅkha-); **pigh**, swing, (preṅkhá).

[ŋgh]—**lagh**, pass, (laṅghate).

[n̄ch]—**pájh**, wipe, (pron̄chati)

hujh, sweep, (un̄chati).

[n̄jh]—No examples are available.

[ŋth]—**kaḍḍhá**, bank, < kaṇṭha-

khuddhá, blunt, < kuṇṭha-.

[ŋḍh]—Dr. Jain does not mention the group at all. Example in Awankari is **saḍḍhá**, male buffalo, < saṇḍhaḥ.

[nth]—**mədháṇí**, churning stick, < manthana-

kadh, wall, < kanthá

gaḍh, knot, < Pk. ganthi, < Sk. granthi-.

[mph]—**gupphá**, cave, < gumphá (E).

[ndh] behaves exactly as in Punjabi. More examples—

kənhárá, shoulder, < Pk. kandhára, Sk. kandhára
or skandha-tataḥ

ratáṅá, night-blindness, < rátri-andha-

saṅn, house breaking, < sandhi-

hənárá, darkness, < andhakáraḥ.

Note the behaviour of aspiration in the above words.

[mbh]—Aw. **kubhár**, potter, (kumbha-kára-); **səbháluṇ**, to take charge, (sambhārayati).

But in some words it is the plosive that is assimilated to the nasal, as in Punjabi.

tham, pillar, (stambha) and such other words may be loans.

Even if aspiration appeared later in such groups, it drove out the nasality—

palugh (paryāṅkaḥ), bedstead, P. **palaṅgh**

kagghī (kaṅkataḥ), comb, H., P. **kaṅghī**.

On the other hand, if aspiration disappeared, nasality was saved, as in **saṅgul**, chain, < Pk. sankala, Sk. śrṅkhalā.

Exceptions to the general principles are mainly due to wrong importations and contaminations.

Compare—

əndrakkhá, cloak, < aṅga-rakṣakaḥ

ʾʾj, limb, < aṅga-

kərená, does, < karanta- (Jain p. 98)

khaddhá, multitude, < skandhaḥ.

áʾtrá, (egg), < āṇḍa, is unusual.

III. 2. iv. Nasal+nasal.

No more examples are available in Awankari, excepting **Jəməʾdrá**, something by birth, < jammāntara-

III. 2. v. Nasal+sibilant.

I have nothing more to add to Dr. Jain's observations (§ 161) which apply as well to Awankari as to WP. and Lahndi.

III. 2. vi. Groups with [y].

[-ky-]—**dhukkun**, to suit, (dhukyate), Pk. dhukkai.

[-gy-]—**Jogá**, for, (yogyah).

[-cy-]—**covun**, to milk, (cyotati).

[-jy-]—**vaʾj**, to strike, (*vrajiyati).

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[-ty-]—**vaṭṭuṇ**, to coil, (vaṭyate) ; **leṭuṇ**, to lie down, (leṭyati).

[-dy-]—**buḍḍuṇ**, to drown, (buḍyati) Pk. buḍḍai.

[-my-]—No words are available in Awankari.

[-py-]—**khappuṇ**, to fret, (kṣapyate) ; **ṭhappuṇ**, to roll, (*stha-pyate).

[-bhy-]—No examples.

[-ty-]—**paṛcāvūṇ**, to console, (pratyāpayati)

ṭtvār < ādityavāra (Sunday) is a loan-word.

[-dy-]—**khāJ**, eatable, (khādyam) ; **vaJJuṇ**, to ring, (vadyate)

ənāJ, corn, (annādya-) ; **chāJ** (chādya-), winnowing basket.

[-dhy-]—**māJh**, (madhya-), waist

bāJhīnā, is tied, (badhyate).

[-ny-]—No examples are available.

[-ny-] > [ṇJ]—**JaṇJ**, (janyā) ; **ṭhāṇJ**, teats, (stanya-)

kaṇJuk, maiden, (kanyā) ; **suṇJā**, desolate, (śuṇya-)

māṇJ, neck, (manyā).

Compare Punjabi in which it is treated in two ways.

man, is a loan-word even in Awankari.

[-ly-]—**valūṇ** (valyate), to wrap.

[-vy-]—As in WP.

[-shy-]—**sāṇvāk**, a millet ; **sālā**, brother-in-law ; **sāvā**, green, etc.

[-ṣy-]—**muṇus**, husband, < manuṣya-

ruṣṣuṇ, to be displeased, < ruṣyate.

[-sy-]—**nās**, nostril, (nāsyam).

[-ry-] and [-hy-]—the same examples as in WP., excepting that the word **dājghanā**, does not occur in Lahndi.

Add after [ky]—

[-khy-]—Aw. **ākḥ**, say, (√ākhyā-)

əkhāṇ, saying, ākhyānam.

III. 2. vii. Groups with [r].

III. 2. vii. (a). r + consonant.

[-rk-]—All the examples mentioned by Dr. Jain are available in Awankari—i.e., **akk**, **kakkur**, **t rakkā**, **makṛī**, **√akkur**.

Also add **trak** (takra), stink.

- [-rg-]—**vag** (vargah), flock.
 [-rgh-]—**gabbhun** (garbhini), pregnant.
 [-rc-], [-rd-], [-rj-], [-rb-]—No new phenomenon in Awankari.
 [-rn-]—The words **cúná**, lime, and **cúrá**, powder, < cúṃa show that the group had two developments for differentiation.
 [-rt-], [-rd-], [-rth-], [-rṭh-]—No more remarks.
 [-rp-]—**páprī** (parpatiká), layer.
 [-rbh-]—**gabhrú** (garbha-rúpa-), husband, young man.
 [-rm-]—**kamávun** (karmápayati), to earn.
 [-ry-]—**saliháJ** (shyála-jáyá), brother-in-law's wife.
 [-rl-]—No example is available at all.
 [-rv-]—**nibbhun**, to be finished, < nirvahati.
 [-sh-]—The same **dassun**, to tell, and **pásá**, side.
 [-rṣ-]—**kassun** (karṣati), to tie firm
 tassá (tarṣah), thirsty, Pk. tassia.
 but **va^hrá**, year, (varṣa-).

III. 2. vii. (b). Consonant + r*

- [-kr-]—**vikkun**, < vikrayam, to be sold
 kú^hJ (kraun^hca), a crane.
 [-gr-]—**vighá** (vighra-), a measure of land
 gadhná (grathnāti), to repair, besides **girá^h**, morsel.
 [ghr-]—Initial in **gháni** (ghrāniká), oil-mill, (Chaterjee p. 463).
 [-jr-]—**baJ**, injury, (vajra-).
 [-dhr-]—No example in Awankari.
 [-tr-]—Retained in specific words (p. 10) and modified in loans or semi-loans to [tt] or [t] as the case may be (VIII. 3. i(b)(3)).
 [-ntr-]—**ne^hdrá** (nimantrakah), subscription at wedding
 á^hdrá^h (āntra-), entrails.
 [-dr-]—The same as in WP. Also add **ha^hrdul** < haridrā-.
 [-dhr-]—**dhá^hvun** (dhrasnāti) to throw down.
 [pr-]—Initial in **passur** (prasarati), **pach**, (pracchyati). Also see the chapter on Cerebralization.
 [bhr-]—Initial in **bhavun** (bhramati) Pk. (bhamai), go round
 bhatríá, nephew, (bhrátrīyah), besides **bhirá**, brother.

*Retention of [r] (I. 3). except in [tr] is not quite regular.

III

[-mr-]—In Awankari no [b] is intruded—

am (ámra-), **trámá** (támra-)

[-shr-]—**sávuṇ**, (shrávāṇa-), also **hā^hJú**, < ashru, tears.

Add to Jain :—

[-ḍr-]—**bhed** (bhedra-), sheep.

[-tkr-]—**ukkuṇ**, to miss, (utkramati), Pk. ukkamai.

[-str-]—**trímut** (strí-mátá), wife.

[-ktr-]—**Jotur** (yoktram), strap.

[-dgr-]—**ugrá^hvuṇ** (udgráhayati), to collect money.

III. 2. viii. Groups with [l].

These groups are very unimportant as hardly an example or so exists in Awankari. Anyhow, their treatment in Awankari agrees with that in Punjabi, as in **phagguṇ**, a month; **vág**, rein; **kappuṇ**, to cut, reap, etc.

Add to Dr. Jain's list—

[-ml-]—**kumávuṇ**, to wither, < √kumla.

III. 2. ix. Groups with [v].

[-kv-]—Initial in **ka^hṭ** (kvathate), to boil.

[-jv-] and [-tv-]—the same examples as in Punjabi.

[-tv-]—Initial in **turut** (tvarate), at once.

Medial in **nátá** (jn^hátitvam), relation

chappur (chatvara-), shed

luccpuṇá, (Per. luc + Sk. tvanan), rascality.

[-dv-]—**ubási** (udvásanam), yawn

bári (dváram), window.

Also **do**, two, **dúá**, second, **dúṇá**, twofold.

No other example is available.

Add [-rdhv-]—**ubbhá**, upper, (úrdhva-), Pk. (ubbha-)

[-shv-]—**visá^h**, trust, [vishvása-]

and other examples as in Punjabi.

[-sv-]—**mási^h**, not **mási**, as in Punjabi.

[-sv-]—**sái^h**, master, (svámin).

sur (svara), tune, is a loanword.

[-hv-]—only **jibh**, tongue, (jīhvā) is a loanword.

III. 2. x. Groups with a sibilant.

The groups [-ṣt-] and [-ṣṭr-] show three historical cases in Awankari. They are changed to

(i) [t̪h] or [ṭh] in numerals 8, 18, 28, 38, 48, etc.

and **viṭh**, bird's excrement, < viṣṭā

bhaṭh (bhraṣṭra), kiln; **uṭh**, **oṭhī** (uṣṭra, auṣṭra-).

(ii) [d̪h] or [ḍh]—

kaḍh, take out, < Sk. kṛṣṭa, Pk. kaṭṭha-

(iii) [tone + r] in **koṛ**.

veṛā, courtyard, < Sk. veṣṭa-

dāṛ, long tooth, < Sk. daṁṣṭra-.

iṭ, brick, < Sk. iṣṭikā, is a case of deaspiration.

[-ṣk-]—Awankari usually shows deaspiration of Pk. [kkh], as in

sukkā, dry, (shuṣka-)

cāukā (catuskaḥ), square

nikkul (niṣkṛta-), go out, but **nikhṛun** (nis-kirati), to separate.

[shc] and [sh-c] behave differently as they also do in Punjabi.

[-ṣṭh-]—**hoṭh** (oṣṭha-), lip.

koṛ (kuṣṭham) has traversed further stages.

[-sp-]—**dupriará** (duṣṭriyakārah), not dear.

[-sp-]—**phas** (√spash-), to be entangled

phirun (spirati), to move.

[-sp-]—**copur**, (catus-paṭa-), a chess play

nəpiṛ (niṣ-√piḍ), to squeeze.

[-sk-]—**khaddhā**, crowd, (skandhaḥ); **khubb** (skuptvá), pierce.

[-st-]—No more examples in Awankari.

[-st-]—**thari**, cream, (stara-)

thāṛ, woman's milk, (stanya-).

[-s + t-]—only **nitrun**, to filter, < nistarāṇa-

cāṭri, 34, is an example of [-s + tr-]

[-sth-]—**thal**, sandy desert, (sthala-)

thiā, became, (sthitah).

[-sp-]—Nothing particular.

[-sph-]—**əphrun**, Cf. (āsphāraṇa-), to be stuffed.

phurun (sphurati), to throb.

III

[kʂ]—The general tendency of the dialect is to change [kʂ] to [kh]. [ch] words are not more than a dozen including the very common **rich** (bear), **macchur** (mosquito), **kach** (armpit), **churá** (knife), **chatrá** (umbrella) and **chánni** (sieve). The dialect offers some more words not found in Punjabi, namely—

rach, instrument, (rakṣayati).

kuchur, lap, (P. S. M. of **kach**).

cháí, ash, (kṣára, if not cháya)

charná, to have stools, √ kṣar-.

[kh] words are not less than one hundred. Examples :—

ṛ, walnut, < akṣṭa.

bhukh, hunger, < bubhukṣá

dákh, grapes, < drákṣá

khiṁṁ, to fret, < kṣiyate

mákhá, honey, < mákṣikam

pakh, fortnight, < pakṣaḥ

vakkhi, sides of the body, etc. < vakṣas

In some words [kh] and [ch] forms make doublets for semantic differentiation.

Compare—

kach, armpit, and **kakh**, straw, < kakṣa

rach, tool, and **rakh**, place, protection, < rakṣa, (rakṣá).

Add [-kʂv-]—**cher**, tease (√ kṣveḍ) and **chiruk**, sprinkle.

[-ts-]—**vacchá** (vatsaḥ), calf; **vecherà** (vatsa-tara), colt;

macchur, (matsaraḥ), mosquito.

[-ps-]—No example in Awankari.

[-ʂp-]—**kiṁná**, ugly, (kṣṇa-).

[-sn-]—**nú**, daughter-in-law, (snuṣá).

[-ʂm-]—**les**, gloy, (shleṣma-).

[-ʂm-]—**kosá**, lukewarm, (koṣma-).

[-sm-]—**əsá**, to us (asmán).

We thus see that there is nothing particular in Awankari about groups with a sibilant, excepting [st], [ʂh], [kʂ] and [ʂk], which me exceptional treatment.

III. 3. Vowels.

The history of vowels in modern languages is very complicated.

There is no doubt that in unaccented syllables vowels became so weak that they could assume any neutral form, [ə], [i], or [u]. They also disappeared for want of stress.* Complications arise when even in accented syllables they are not preserved.† Some of these changes are not quite clear. Some, however, may be accounted for.

III. 3. (a). Umlaut.

Aw. **much**, moustache, < Sk. *śmashru-*
muṇus, husband, < Sk. *manuṣya*
ku[~]J, slough, < *kan[~]cuka-* (or epenthesis)
cu[~]J, beak, < *can[~]cu-*
kuJh, some, < Old H. *kachu*
siṇi[~], jute, < H. *san*.

In **phulá[^]** < Sk. *palāsha-*, u < a, may be due to the labial consonant.

III. 3. (b). Guṇa-Vrddhi Forms.

mo[^]lá, pestle, < Sk. *muṣala-*
goṭ, tablet, < Sk. *guṭiká*
thobá, mud patch, < Sk. *sthūbha*, a stop.
lávun, curry, < Sk. *lavaṇa*
ca[~]Já, clever, < Sk. **can[~]ca*, *can[~]ca*
loth, dead body, < Sk. *lupta-*
ko[^]r, leprosy, < *kuṣṭha*, *kaṣṭha*.
 (See also Jain § 38), and our note at page 47).

III. 3. i. Mixtures.

Shortening of vowels before consonant groups or compensatory lengthening may be due to dialectical mixtures—some of which are found even in Prakrits.‡

*See VIII. 4. i. (2)(b).

†See the Chapter on Preservations for regularities.

‡Dr. Jain (Punjabi, page 9) and Pischel pages 72-73.

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- trikkhá**, fast, < Sk. *tíkṣṇa-*
Jíbh, tongue, < Sk. *ñihvá*
ni¹dur, sleep, < Sk. *nīdrá*
ú¹gh, nap, < Sk. *uñkhati*
unn, wool, < Sk. *úrṇá*
ubbhá, upper, < Sk. *úrdhva-*
mudh, root, < Sk. *múrdhá-*
kuccuṇ, brush, < Pk. *kucca-* < Sk. *kūrca-*
katte, a month, < Pk. *káttia*, Sk. *kártika*
ma¹gun, to ask, < Sk. *mārgaṇam*.

III. 3. ii. Influence of [-h-]

[h] has a varying effect on the preceding vowel. Examples:—

- sá¹**, hare, < *shasha-*
pá¹r, as well as **pāu¹r**, part of time, < *prahara-*
dá¹, ten, < *dasha-*
vá¹n, streamlet, < *vāhini*
nāu¹, nail, < *nakha-*
vāi¹gi, a carrier, < *vahaṅgiká*
bau¹, sit, < *√upvish*
pú¹Jhuṇ, to wipe, < *prōṇchati*
mí¹, rain, < *megha-*

For explanations, see Dr. Jain (Punjabi, pp. 26ff). Compare also our note on [-ava-] in III. 4. ii.

In Awankari the vowels have been treated better than in Punjabi. Compare—

Aw. ha¹Jú , tears	Punjabi injh
katthe , where	kitthe
maruc , pepper	mirc
harnāūlī , castor	rindī
kiJh , some	kuJh
pa¹Jtā¹li , forty five	pāi¹tālī
val , crepper	vel

None of the words with [āi] < [ā] mentioned by Jain (§ 30 (ii)) is found in Awankari, excepting **pāi¹trī**, which may be a loanword.

a > au (Jain § 33 ii) is not available in Awankari.

i > e (Jain § 34) is also not available in Awankari.

i > ú is doubtful even in Punjabi.

Awankari appears to be more cautious than Punjabi in effecting changes in vowels.

Jún, past or future birth (yonih); **appərná**, to reach; **bəhāirā**, myrobalan, (vibhītakah); **khenú**, ball, (kandukah) are loan-words.

For **khenú**, the specific Awankari word is **khaḍúrí**.

We have stated that many words with long vowels < short vowels are loans (VIII. 3.). Some irregular vowel and consonant changes must be due to wrong importations.

Differentiation may also be one of the causes of unusual sounds. For example from Sk. majjá, **mAJ**, marrow, would be confused with **mAJ**, winnower, and **mAJh**, already means buffalo, in Awankari. Hence **mijh**, marrow.

So also Aw. **kittí**, how many, < Sk. kati-

dhirkhāṇ, carpenter, < Sk. takṣana-

lid, dung, < Sk. larda-

also compare Deshi liṇḍa-.

In **reṭhā**, soap-nut, the initial vowel [a] might have shifted to [i] in Sk. -driṣṭa, and then [ai] > [e] in Awankari **reṭhā**. Also note metathesis of [i] in **rīs**, envy, < irṣyā.

III. 3. iii. Treatment of [ɾ]

Initial [ɾ-] become [ri] in Awankari.

rich, bear, < ṛkṣa-

riJJhun, to be cooked, < ṛddhyate.

[u] in **rut**, season, is due to umlaut, < ṛtu-.

Medial [ɾ-] shows three developments, namely [a], [i] and [u], but it appears from the majority of words that Awankari belongs to that Prakrit which had modified [ɾ] almost regularly to [i]. Compare Gujrati, which as Turner (p. 348) thinks, treats [ɾ] as [i], or [u]. Examples:—

[ɾ] > [a]

Aw. **saṅgul**, chain, < Sk. ṣṅkhalā

vaḍḍhī, bribe, < Sk. vṛddhi-

naccun, to dance, < Sk. nṛtyate

ghas, to be rubbed, < Sk. ghṛṣyate

kaḍḍhun, to take out, < Sk. kṛṣṭa-.

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[ɪ] > [u]

(influence of labial consonant may be noted in some)

bhuJJun, to be fried or parched, < bhr̥jyate**pucchuṇ**, to ask, < pṛcchati**moia**, dead, < mṛta-**ghuṭ**, press, < ghr̥syate**suṇ**, hear, < śṇoti.

[-ɪ-] > [i]

tri, thirst, < Sk. tṛṣṭá, ('long [ɪ] in final position).**ghiddá**, taken, < Sk. gṛhita-**dissuṇ**, to be seen, < Sk. dṛśhyate**si^hg**, horn, < Sk. śṛṅga-**vicchó**, scorpion, (vṛ̥shcika-); **midh**, (√mṛdh), crush**ki^hnná** (kṛ̥ṣṇa-), ugly, **cith**, (√cṛt-) grind**diṭṭhá**, seen, < Sk. dṛṣṭa-**khittí**, pleiadas, < Sk. kṛttiká**ghio**, ghee, < Sk. ghṛta-**rich**, bear, < Sk. ṛkṣa-.In **kíta**, done (kṛta-) and **triá**, third, (tṛtiya-), lengthening is analogical.

III. 3. iv. Treatment of [ai].

[ai] > [e] regularly in accented syllable.

Examples—

cetur, a month, < caitra**eká**, unity, < aikyam**tel**, oil, < taila-.

III. 3. v. Treatment of [au]

[au] > [o] regularly in Lahndi.

oṭhá, belonging to camel, < auṣṭra-**potrá**, grandson, < pautra-**do^htrá**, daughter's son, < dauhitra-**ko^hṛ**, leprosy, < kauṣṭha-**odur**, sad, semantic extension of Sk. audárīka and Pk. odariya.

III. 3. vi. Svarabhakti.

On page 388, Chatterjee says "Epenthesis-cum-umlaut is also noticed in Lahndi and Sindhi". As regards Lahndi, Chatterjee's remark requires some modification. Awankari penultimate [u] is a substitute for [a] which has appeared as Svarabhakti in **JADAM**, **CAKKAR**, **ṭIKAS**, etc. The svarabhakti in Awankari is as common as in Punjabi or Bengali, but it has an additional effect of Apabhramsha when the svarabhakti occurs in the penultimate position.

Compare—

puttur, son, < p'utra-

cakkur, wheel, round, < cakra-

paṅgut, line, < panktiḥ

lotur, strap, < yoktram.

Svarabhakti [a] and [i] occur in other positions of an Awankari word.

Examples—

parseo, sweat, < Sk. prasveda-

paṛdádá, great grandfather, < Sk. pra-táta-

giráṁ, village, < Sk. gráma-

giráṁ, morsel, < grása-

bhirá, brother, < Sk. bhrátá.

The prefix **paṛ-** < prati, is used in about 20 words in Awankari.

Pk. svarabhakti has made the following Awankari words—

sa[^]riáṁ, rape seed, < Pk. sarisava (sarṣapa)

va[^]rá, year, < varisa (varṣa)

cúrá, powder, < cūraṇa (cūrṇa-).

III. 3. vii. Guṇa-Vrddhi

The use of Guṇa-vrddhi forms has been extended in Awankari (1) to make doublets for differentiation, (2) to make nouns from verbs, (3) to make adjectives from nouns, (4) to make agental nouns from nouns, and so on.

Examples—

(1)

Aw. (i) **ma[~]dá**, bad

Sk. mandah

ma[~]dá, dying

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- (ii) **ca~J** (now obsolete), talkative, < ca~ca
ca~Já, clever, < ca~ncal.
 (iii) **kunni~**, a pitcher Sk. kuṇḍam
kú~ní, water bag.
 (iv) **phal**, blade Sk. phalam
phál, plough-blade.

To some phonologists **má~dá**, **phál**, **kú~ní**, etc., may appear to be loans from eastern dialects. But they are doublets in Lahndi itself.

(2)

- Aw. **kachlári**, a sore in the armpit, < kakṣa
tháprá, pat, < Sk. √stháp-
mesá, cunning, < Sk. √miṣ, meṣya-
pheti, disunion, < Sk. sphit, sphut-
loth, dead body, < Sk. lupta-.

(3)

- | | |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Aw. bákrá , of goat | Cf. Aw. bakri , goat |
| bheḍá , of sheep | bhiḍ , sheep |
| máJhá , of buffalo | maJh , buffalo |
| | etc. |

(4)

- | | |
|---|------------------------------|
| Aw. háli , ploughman | Cf. Aw. hal , plough |
| dodbi , milk-seller | dudh , milk |
| Já~Ji , member of marriage party | Ja~J , marriage party |
| | etc. |

III. 4. Vowels in Contact.

III. 4. i. General and Diphthongal Treatment.

Awankari offers an interesting treatment of the vowels left in contact in MIA. They become diphthongs in a minority of words. The predominant tendency of the dialect is to monophthongize such vowel-groups. This is done in two ways: Either the group is contracted into a simple long vowel or it is split up by a liaison sound.

Punjabi, indeed, has formed more diphthongs from these vowel groups than Awankari.

Note, for example, that in the opinion of Jain, P. [á] from Pk. [aa] is unexpected (Punjabi. p. 37 bottom).

Compare—

MI [a a] > P. [eá], Aw. [á]

Aw. **kubhár**, potter, (kumbhakára-), P. **kumheár**
sunára, goldsmith, (suvarṇakára-), P. **suneár**
bhāḍár, granary, (bhāṇḍágára-), P. **bhaḍeár**.

Pk. or Apa [ai] = P. [ai], Aw. [āi]

Aw. **bhāiṇ**, sister, (bhaginī), P. **bhain**
pāiṇ, foot, (padira-), P. **pair**.

Pk. or Apa [ái] > P. [ai], Aw. [āi]

Aw. **ḍāiṇ**, witch, (ḍakini), P. **ḍain**, W. P. **daiṇ**
nāiṇ, wife of a barber, (nāpit-ini), P. **nain**, W. P. **naiṇ**.

Aw. [āu] < MI. áu, au, ao, is also the shortest diphthong very like a monophthong. Cf. Punjabi [au].

Aw. **cāthá**, P. **cauthá**, fourth
caudá, P. **caudá**, fourteen
kāul, P. **kaul**, a cup
pāuná, P. **pauná**, three fourth
cāukāth, P. **caukāth**, (catuṣ-kāṣṭha-)
cāusá, P. **cauśá**, (catuṣya-).

MI. ea > P. ai = Aw. āi

chāiṇí, chisel, (chedanī), P. **chainí**.

The following instances of diphthongs from MI vowels in contact are noteworthy—

[iá] < [iá], [iā] or [eá] or [áá]

siálá , winter	Sk. shíta-kála-
kiárá , bed of a field	Sk. kedára-
māniári , merchandise	Sk. māṇikya-kárin
piárá , dear	Sk. priyakára
miliár , gardener	Sk. málákára-
dhiárá , day	Sk. divas-várā.

[io] < MI [iu]

ghio , ghee	Sk. ghṛta-
pío , father	Sk. pitá

but

III

ne'drá, subscription at wedding, P. **neo'dá**, (nimantraka).

[uá] < [-uá]

kuára, unmarried, < Sk. kumáraḥ

Juár, millet, < Sk. yavakáraḥ

[á u] and [á-i] are still held apart as diphthongs in a majority of words. They are rarely contracted in Pk. (Turner § 28). For [au] see examples above. Note [ái] in **nái**, barber, **dái**, nurse, **sái**, master, etc.

The latter diphthong survived on account of its terminational position.

So also [uí] in **súi**, needle, and **khú'í**, a small well.

For more diphthongs see the Chapter on Diphthongs in other part of our book "Lahndi Phonetics".

Note—The fact that Awankari has a very large number of diphthongs (see Chapter on Diphthongs in "Lahndi Phonetics"), and yet it has a strong tendency towards monophthongization, appears to be paradoxical, but it may be noted that most of the Aw. diphthongs are terminational. We may say Awankari favours diphthongs at the end of words but not so much in medial positions.

III. 4. ii. Monophthongal treatment

MI. [a a] is contracted to [e] in Punjabi.* In Awankari it has threefold treatment.

Pk. [a a] > Aw. [á]

Aw. **chá'li**, goat, < Sk. chágala-

kānhára, shoulder, < Sk. skandha-taṭa.

Pk. [a.a] > Aw. [e]

Aw. **ber**, jujube, < Sk. badara-

kelá, banana, < Sk. kadali

vecherá, colt, < Sk. vatsa-tara

noherun, nail-cutter, < Sk. nakha-haraṇa-

lamerá, longer, < Sk. lambatara-

*Jain § 103.

Pk. [a-a] > Aw. [āi]

In the opinion of Turner, aa > āi is due to the influence of Jain Prakrit—(Gujrati, p. 337).

vāiṇ, mourning song, < vacana-

āiṇ, hailstone, < ashini

pāi, lie, < patati

pāiṇī, foot-rope, < pada + Aw. -rī.

Pk. [ai] > Aw. [āi]

bhāiṇ, sister, < Sk. bhagini

pāiṇ, foot, < Sk. padira-.

Pk. [a ā] > Aw. [ā]

kubhār, potter, < Sk. kumbhakāra-

khelārā, arena, < Sk. khala-vāṭaḥ

honārā, darkness, < Sk. andhakāra-

sunārā, goldsmith, < Sk. suvarṇakāra-.

Pk. ā a, ā ā, āya, āyā, aa > Aw. ā

pā, one fourth, < Sk. pādaḥ

chā, shade, < Sk. chāyā

vā, wind, < Sk. vātaḥ

saṁvā, one and a quarter, < Sk. sapādaḥ.

Pk. [a a] > Aw. [āi]

khāinā, eats, < khādati

trai, terrified, < trāsaḥ.

aya or āya, also behaves similarly. Compare—

[āi] in **parṇāinā**, gets married, < pariṇayati

kāidā, how long, < kaya-vaḍra, (Pischel p. 308).

All causative forms are from -ayati, as

khavāinā, makes eat

cāinā, lifts, (tr. in the form of causative)

hoṭāinā, removes etc.

Pk. [āi] > Aw. [āi]

sāiṇ, mistress, < Sk. svāmini

Dr. B. D. Jain, Punjabi Phonology § 103.

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āitvār, Sunday, < Sk. ādityavāra

Jāiphal, a medicinal fruit, < Sk. jātiphalam

Apa. [áu] > Aw. [á]

Present Ind. I Singular

Jívā, I may live, < jívāmi

va-Já, I may go

kará, I may do etc.

Pk. [i á] or [i a] > [í] in Aw.

vattí, touchstone, < Sk. vartiká

vanní, bride, < Sk. vanitá

thí, become, < Sk. sthitāḥ

síruk, quilt, < Sk. shīta-rakṣaka-

kunni, pot, < kuṇḍiká

gotí, dice, < guṭiká.

Pk. [i a] or [e a] > [e] in Aw.

neṛe, near, < Sk. nikaṭa-

nem, rule, < Sk. niyama

de'dh, one and a half, < Pk. divaddha

ne'drá, wedding subscription, < Sk. nimantrakāḥ.

Pk. [i i] > Aw. [í]

chít, calico, < Sk. kṣipta-citra-

Pk. [ie] < Aw. [e]

nærel, cocoanut, < Sk. nārikela-

MI [íā] > Aw. [e]

keJhá, how, < kīdṛṣha, Pk. kíasa.

Pk. [ia] > Aw. [í]

pílá, yellow, < pítala-

sí, cold, < shīta-

[ua] or [úā] > Aw. [ú]

súr, swine, < shukara-

Jú, louse, < yúká.

Apa. [uu] as in Punjabi (Dr. Jain p. 39)

Pk. [ea] > Aw. [ā]

chāīnī, chisel, < Sk. chedanī.

MI Ou ? < PI. -oma- = [á]

kúlá, soft, < Sk. komala-

lú, soft hair, < Sk. loma-

PI or MI [-ava-]

The behaviour of the combination [-ava-] is varied and uncertain. [-ava-] becomes [au] in a majority of words.

Examples—

Jau, barley, < Sk. yavaḥ

nau, nine, < Sk. nava-

kaul, a cup, < Pk. kavala-

kandī, shell, < Sk. kapardiká

The next historical stage is represented by the words containing [o] from [ava-], as in

olú, cistern, < Sk. avata, Pk. avada

ho, be (imper.), < Sk. bhava-
etc.

The following are irregular importations—

pallá, scarf, < Sk. pallava-

səlúná, curry, < Sk. salavaṇa-

əmúdhá, upside down, < Sk. avamúrdha-

cárá, **cāīrá**, wide, < Sk. capata-

Also note restoration of [ava] in the next section.

III. 4. iii. Liaison

The insertion of [h], [j] or [v] glide between two vowels forming a hiatus is a very old phenomenon. It has been noted in Pali by Geiger (pp. 75-76) and in Prakrits by Pischel (pp. 137, 293 and 299) and by Weber and Goldschmidt. It has been discovered in Assamese by Dr. Kakti (pages 73, 121-122) and in Gujrati by Turner (p. 340 of Gujrati). Dr. Jain appears to be doubtful about its occurrence in Punjabi (Punjabi, p. 36), although at page 47 of his treatise he accepts [-y-] liaison in Pk. khayamda, Lahndi **khāī~dá**, eats. The

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actual occurrence of [h] in Old Bengali orthography (Chatterjee, p. 341) is interesting.

The intrusion of a liaison 'between vowels is important in the light of NIA developments. If it is simply a glide, it will lead to the growth of diphthongs. If, on the other hand, it is a consonant or semi-vowel, it will live to keep vowels separate.

Awankari belongs to a Prakrit which developed liaison with consonantal element. It shows a much greater number of words in which hiatus was avoided, usually with the sound [v] and sometimes with [h]. [j] is rare.

Examples—

[j].

vijá, **viJá**, marriage, < viváha-

hurjál, wolf, < ?

mojá, dead, < mṛtaḥ.

[-h-]

niháni, wife of a barber, also **niáni**

kacá^hri, court, < Sk. kṛtya-grha-

In **cāu^hdri**, headman, tone is from -h- liaison. Compare Sk. caturdhurika (Chatterjee p. 337).

Jo^hr, a caste, < Sk. jaya-kara

do^hr, double, < Sk. dvi-kara (division) (Chatterji p. 701).

[-v-]

levi, paste, < lepa-

pevá^hd, wrong side of bedstead, < pādānta-

pává, leg of bedstead, < pādah

kha^hdvá, turban, < khaṇḍa-

ratvá^h, motions with blood, < rakta-āma-

tre^hvar, suit of clothes, < tri-vara.

The infinitives like Aw. **khávuṇ**, to eat, (khādanam), **devuṇ**, to give, (dānam) are also interesting.

divuṭ, wick, < Sk. dipa-vartih

bhəṇvía, brother-in-law, < Sk. bhaginī-patih

səváiá, one and a quarter fold, < Sk. sapāda-

neveklá, alone, < Sk. na-ekala-

bhirává, O Brother (Voc.), Nom. **bhirá**

bá^hvá^h, arms (pl.), Sing. **bá^h**,

pachává^h, shadow, < Sk. pracháyá.

IV

GENERAL PROBLEMS IN MODIFICATIONS

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GENERAL PROBLEMS IN MODIFICATIONS

1. CEREBRALIZATION.
2. NASALIZATION.
 - (i) HISTORICAL NASALIZATION.
 - (ii) FINAL NASALITY.
 - (iii) NASALITY FROM PI.
 - (iv) ADVERBIAL NASALIZATION.
 - (v) NASALITY IN THE STEM.
3. DENASALIZATION.
4. ASPIRATION.
5. DEASPIRATION.
6. METATHESIS.
7. INTRUSION OF [-r-].
8. PROTHESIS OF [-h-].

IV. 1. Cerebralization.

If we compare notes with Dr. Jain (pp. 87ff), it appears Awankari is a more cerebralizing dialect than Ludhiani. But as compared with southern Lahndi dialects, in which PI [d] usually appears as [ɖ], Awankari cannot be said to favour cerebralization. Anyhow, Awankari does not offer any instance of a cerebral sound changing

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to a dental or palatal one. On the other hand, examples of dentals changing to cerebrals are quite common. Ardhamagadhi presents cases of spontaneous cerebralization in the interior of words, such as

aḍḍhaijja	Skt. ardha-tṛtīyaḥ
maṭṭiā	Sk. mṛttikā
vaṭṭi	Sk. vartih
ṇaṭṭaa	Sk. nartakaḥ
ṇivvaṭṭei	Sk. nirvartate.

Awankari belongs to that form of Prakrit or Apabhramsa which had the tendency of initial cerebralization. Medial cerebralization must have been influenced by Dravidian and other non-aryan languages. On page 489, Chatterjee says, 'A great many NIA words with initial cerebral are evidently deshi in origin. But it is noteworthy that the cerebral as an initial sound does not occur in Dravidian, at least in modern Dravidian. Kol or old kol, possibly, had cerebrals initially.'

Bloch also thinks that the existence of initial cerebral "is the most obscure event in the history of the Indo-Aryan consonants."

Most of the cerebralized consonants occur initially in Awankari and they are usually from dentals. The existence of cerebral-dental doublets has been noticed by Przyluski (Non-Aryan in India, ed. Bagchi, P. 158) in Pali. Sk. or Pk. [t-] or [-tt-] usually changes to [tʰ] or [tʰ].

Aw. **ṭur**, walk, < Sk. turate, hastens, P. **turaṇā**

ṭikkā, mark, < Sk. tilaka-

ṭoṇ, feel by hand, < Sk. √tuh

ṭuṇḍ, stump, < tuṇḍa-

miṭṭi, earth, < mṛttikā, Pk. maṭṭi

chit, calico, < kṣipta-citra-

bhiṭṭā, lump, < bhittakaḥ (piece)

Juṭ, be yoked, < yukta-

khaṭ, dig, < Pk. khatta from Sk. √khan-

vaṭ, wick, < Pk. vaṭṭi, Sk. vartih

naṭ, acrobat, < Pk. ṇaṭṭaa, Sk. nartakaḥ

vaṭṭoṇā, an iron pitcher, < Sk. vartuloha-

Medial [-t-] has reached further stages in

nicrun, to be squeezed, < niṣcotate

kirāṭ, shopkeeper, < Sk. kirāta-

1.

bəhāīrā, myrobalan, < Sk. vibhīṭakāḥ.

It may be noted that the above three words exist also in many other NIA languages.

A Sanskrit conjunct changing to Pk. [th] or [tth] usually changes to [t̪h] or [t̪t̪h] as the case may be.

ṭhāḍḍhā, cold, < stabdha- (taken from Pk. thaddhao)

ṭham, hold, < Pk. thambai, Sk. stambhate

ṭhullā, fat, < Pk. thulla, Sk. sthūlah

ṭhar, to be benumbed, < √sthara, lexicon sthalati

ṭraṭṭhā, frightened, < trasta-

bəhāṭṭhā, amulet, < bāhustha-

Aw. **kaṛun**, P. **kaṛhanā**, is not from √kvath- as Jain thinks, but from √kaṭh-. Pk. kaḍhai. Cf. Kaṭhina (hard).

Sk. [d-] usually changes to [ḍ-], as in

ḍannā, staff, < Sk. daṇḍa-, Pk. ḍaṇḍa

ḍāḍhā, strong, < Sk. dārdhya-

ḍhāḍī, bonfire, < Sk. dāha-, cf. Guj. ḍāha

ḍoṭā, double, < Sk. dvi-varta-

ḍeḍhī, porch, < Sk. dehalī

ḍāṭk, bite, < Sk. darśha-

ḍāṅg, bite, < Sk. darśha-

ḍivā, earthen lamp, < Sk. dipakāḥ

ḍiṭṭhā, seen, < Sk. dṛṣṭa-

So also Pk. [d] or [dd]

ḍeḍb, one and a half, < Pk. divaddha, Sk. dvi-arddha-

ḍāṽuṇ, to place, < Sk. drāghate

kāṽḍī, cowrie, < Sk. kapardikā

ḍaḍḍū, frog, < Pk. daddura, Sk. dardurāḥ.

Sk. or Pkt. [dh] or [ddh] changes to [ḍh] in

ḍhivur, cook, < Sk. dhivara-

ḍhāī, 2 1/2, < Pk. aḍḍhaijja, Sk. ardha-tṛtīyāḥ

ḍhaṭṭhā, fallen, < Pk. dhattha, Sk. dhavasta-

ḍhāṽuṇ, to drop, < Sk. √dhras-

To me it appears that the process of cerebralization was somewhat like this. Sanskrit borrowed certain cerebral sounds from non-Aryan languages and extended their use to Indo-Aryan words as well. Compare—

IE. *dī*

Sk. *ḍī*, to fly

Vedic *atati*

Sk. *aṭati*, wanders.

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Prakrit further extended their use analogically to a large number of words. Compare.—

Sk. dahyate

Pk. ḍajjhai

Sk. √kvath

Pk. √kaḍḥ

Sk. √pat

Pk. √paḍ.

In Prakrit, [n] became [ṇ] and thus cerebralization was extended to all dentals. The process was carried on by NIA languages. Sometimes a Pk. cerebral helped in bringing up another cerebral by assimilation. Sometimes it was analogical to similar forms in MI.

Besides dentals, [r] and [l] have also the tendency to cerebrality. See also III. 1. to understand the relationship between [r], [l] and [ṛ]. Note also that non-initial [l] is, otherwise too, cerebral [ḷ] in the speech of Awankars proper.

Examples of [r] or [l] becoming [ṛ]—

Aw. **kuḥāṛī**, axe, < Sk. kuṭhāra-

paṛḍaṇḍ, joint tooth, < Sk. pradanta-

paṛotrā, great grandson, < Sk. pra-pautra-

paṛvāl, trichiasis, < Sk. pravāla-

dhūṛ, dust, < Sk. dhulī-

boṛun, to drown, < Sk. lex. bolayati, sinks.

[r], [l], and [ṛ] also helped in cerebralizing a plosive in the vicinity.

Compare in this connection Dr. Chatterjee (p. 492) who says that [ṭh] of many words like ṭaharnā, ṭhag, "is unexplained". In my opinion NIA languages (at least some) have inherited this tendency of cerebralizing dentals from Prakrit. There is no doubt that this process has not yet been completed. Hence Dr. Jain's misunderstanding (P. 87). A time may come when all dentals are replaced by cerebrals. Derāwālī Lahndi has already done this with regard to initial [d-].

IV. 2. Nasalization

Nasalization of vowels in the vicinity of nasal consonants has been discussed in the "*Lahndi Phonetics*". Please correct Dr. Jain's view (§. 115), who thinks that nasality in Aw., P. **má[~]**, a month (māgha-), **má[~]**, a pulse (māṣa-), **mú[~]**, face, is due to the presence of the preceding [m], which is not an unqualified condition.

Note that no nasality takes place in—

Aw. mela , fair	mási , mother's sister.
mitti , clay	and
nak , nose	necá , faith, snake of a smoking pipe.

Nasality in the following may be independent and spontaneous, if not analogical.

má~ (mágha-), a month, **mú**~ (mukha-), mouth
nú~ (snuśá), daughter-in-law, **nāu**~ (nakha-) nail
mī~ (megha), rain.

It appears that final tone does not expel the nasality. Compare note No. (1) under "Denasalization". On the other hand it greatly helps nasalization.

IV. 2. i. Historical Nasalization

In the following words, for example, no nasal consonant is now found in the vicinity of a vowel, but at one stage (PI or MI) there was a nasal consonant which has now disappeared, leaving nasality behind—

Aw. sái ~ (svámin), master	girá ~ (gráma-), village
á ~ (āma-), mucus	dhú ~ (dhúma-), smoke
pá ~ (pāma), itch	lú ~ (loma-), soft hair
galdá ~ vá , neck-rope,	ne ~ drá (nimantrakah), wedding
(galla-dāma)	subscription
asse ~ (āshvina), a month	kāi ~ (kāmsya-), bronze.

See also examples of [m] changing to nasality in Awankari in III. 1.

For **hi**~**Je**, **hu**~**Je**, like this, like that, < evam, compare Dr. Chatterjee's note (Bengali pp. 857, 860). "Western Apabhramsha forms show MIA nasalization of [v] in **ew**~**á**, **jew**~**á**, **tew**~**á**. The two latter forms are, of course, analogical.

The nasalized vowel, in the opinion of Pischel (Pali. p. 131-134), cannot be traced to PI [n], or [m]. The above instances clearly show that nasality in certain words is a remnant of ancient [n] or [m]. Dr. Jain endorses this view of ours (Punjabi, pp. 43-44).

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IV. 2. ii. Final Nasality

Final nasality is not only direct from -am termination, but it is also analogical to the neuter gender forms. It does not appear to be spontaneous in the following words, for example—

Aw. śi ~ (śhīta-), cold	mī ~ (megha-), rain
kri ~ (karīra-), a tree	dī ~o (divasa-), Sun, day
gū ~ (gūtha-), excrement	mū ~ (mukha-), face
girā ~ (grāsa-), morsel	cāṇḍā ~ (caturdasha-), fourteen
mā ~ (māṣa-), a pulse	bā ~ (bāhuḥ), arm
sāṁ ~ (shapatha-), oath	ĵāṁ ~ (jyava-), barley
chā ~ (chāya-), shade	hā ~ (hrdaya-), heart
ĵū ~ (yūkā), louse	bhū ~ (busa), straw
parchā ~vā (prachāya), shadow.	

IV. 2. iii. Nasality from Pl.

-ānī termination has been extended to a number of words, direct or by analogy—

Aw. da ~ī (dadhini), curd,	ma ~ĵhī, buffaloes
gā ~, cow	sītā ~, Sita
	etc.

IV. 2. iv. Adverbial Nazalization

Adverbial nasalization is also inherited from -am or -bhyām forms, although generally it is also analogical.

Examples—

Aw. ba ~ū, much, < Sk. bahu-
tā ~, then, < Sk. tadā
ha ~ttho~, by hand, < hastābhyām
ka ~ttho~, whence, < Sk. kutaḥ
ak ~khī~, with eyes, < Sk. akṣibhyām
etc.

IV. 2 v. Nasality in the stem

Nasality in the stem of a word is rare, which means that Awankari does not have the tendency to spontaneous nasalization. Compare—

H. G. á [~] kh, eye, Aw. akkh	H. á [~] śl, tears, Aw. athrá ,
u [~] t, camel, Aw. uṭh	H. u [~] cá, high, Aw. uccá
sá [~] p, snake, Aw. sap	H. ho [~] t, lip, Aw. hoṭh
Guj. chád [~] vu, to leave, Aw. choṛun .	

Awankari and other Lahndi dialects and Punjabi agree in this respect.

Only in foreign words, independent nasalization is appreciable (See X. 4 i. and XI. 3.).

As Chatterjee (Bengali p. 368), suggests, "It seems there was an old tendency in Indo-Aryan, imposed upon it, it may be, by the non-Aryan speeches, towards articulation through both the mouth and the nose." Even if there were no doublets of old, new doublets have been formed for phonetic semantic differentiation. These can be possible cases of spontaneous nasalization.

With reference to the above, also note Dr. Kakti's remark (Assamese p. 146): "Even in MIA the principle of spontaneous nasalization operated within a restricted area; but in NIA, every group of double consonants* could be nasalized, e.g. Assam. nindá, < nidrá, sanca (satya-), gha[~]h, grass, pi[~]h, to powder."

This is a better suggestion, indeed.

Awankari examples are—

na[~]gá (nagna-), naked	ma[~]gun , to ask, (márganam)
va[~]Juṇ (vrajati), to go	má[~]Juṇ , to cleanse, (márjanam)
ni[~]dur (nidrá), sleep	utrá[~]J , rope, (uttar-rajju-)
mu[~]g (mudga-), a pulse	mu[~]dri , ring, (mudrá).

IV. 3. Denasalization

(1) Aspiration, as we have noted, is an important condition of denasalization. More examples—

* or PI consonant groups (?)

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- Aw. **saḍh**, barren, < Sk. *ṣaṇḍhaḥ*
suḍh, dry ginger, < Sk. *shunṭhi-*
pi^hvun, to grind, < Sk. *piṁshati*
sathur, mat, < Sk. *saṁstaraḥ*
vaJhā, handle, < Sk. *vaṁśhaḥ*
dā^hr, large tooth, < Sk. *daṁṣṭra-*
kha^hg, cough, < Sk. **khaṁśā*, Pk. *khanghā*
ulagghun, to transgress, < Sk. *ullaṅghayati*
vā^htur, a beast of burden, < Sk. *vāhana-tara*,

Dogri **vā^htrā**

- su^hrugh**, tunnel, < Sk. *suruṅgā*
ṭhuṭh, stump, thumb held up as a sign of rejection, < Pk.
ṭhunṭha
dhuā^hkh, smoulder, < Sk. *dhūmayate*, also cf. *√dhukṣ-*, Dogri
dhuā^hkh

- ga^hr**, a boil, < Sk. *gaṇḍa-*, cf. Assam. *ga^hr*
thi^hddā, greasy, < Sk. *stimitaḥ*, P. *thindā*
maṭṭhā, slow, < Sk. *manthara-*
has, collar, < Sk. *ansa-*

- ghuṭ**, something drunk at a time, < Desi *ghuṇṭa*, H. *ghu^ht*
sugh, smell, < Sk. *spṛkhati*, Pa. *siṅghati*.

(2) The development of [-m-] to [v] and then to a vowel sound was another phenomenon. Examples—

- Aw. **Javā^hi**, son-in-law, < *jāmāṭṛ-*
kuārā, unmarried, < *kumārāḥ*
cāurī, fly whisk, < Sk. *camarī*
bhaur, bee, < *bhramara-*
āvlā, myrobalan, < *āmalakāḥ*, H. *āmlā*, *ā^hvlā*
 etc.

(3) Sometimes doublets are formed by denasalization which is intended for phonetic semantic differentiation. For example:—

- Sk. *ṭaṅkā-*, > Aw. **ṭa^hg**, leg; **ṭakkā**, double pice
 Sk. *sphuṭ*, > Aw. **phuṭ**, sprout; **phu^hd**, swell.

It seems from the words like **cūṇe^h**, long hair, that there were such doublets in Pī as well—Sk. *cūḍā*, *cūṇḍā*. Also see the Chapter on P. S. M.

(4) Under conditions of stress, nasality is lost as noted in VII. 4. i.

(2)(d). Only a few examples may be given here—

- Aw. **medārī**, juggler, < Sk. *mantrakārin*

kāserā, metal-worker, < Sk. kārṣyika-; Pk. kamsia

kācnār, a tree, < Sk. kan[~]canāra, Pk. kancanāra

chitāki, 1/16 of seer, < Sk. saṭ-ṭāṅkā.

Compare with No. (1) above and note that tone is also a kind of stress.

(5) Denasalization has also taken place in consonant-groups in which the nasal was assimilated to the other member. Examples—

Aw. **luggā**, deserted, < Sk. rugṇaḥ

bhuggā, eaten away, < Sk. bhugna-

pab, toe, < Sk. padma-

rok, cash, < Sk. raukma-,

etc., etc.

(6) The following cases are unusual and obscure. Analogy may account for denasalization.

Aw. **cāvul**, rice, < Sk. taṇḍulaḥ

siJJun, to be wet, < Sk. sin[~]cati

trikkhā, quick, < Sk. tīkṣṇa-

kiJh, **kuJh**, some, < Sk. kin[~]cit.

IV. 4. Aspiration

Aspiration of originally unaspirated plosives is mainly due to three influences in Awankari, namely, the presence of an aspirate in the vicinity, the effect of PI sibilant, and the metathesis of PI or MI isolated -h-, or even liaison -h-. We may consider the examples of each—

(1)

Aw. **khubbhun**, to thrust in Cf. Sk. skuptvā

khákh, cheeks, < Sk. kakṣa-

khuddhá, blunt, < Sk. kuṇṭha-

khá[^]dhá, eaten, < Sk. kháditāḥ

(2)

Aw. **kho[^]**, pluck, < Sk. kuṣṇāti

khas, snatch, < Sk. kuṣṇāti

su[^]rugh, tunnel, < Sk. suruṅga

si[~]gh, horn, < Sk. shṛṅga-

háṛ, a month, < Sk. āṣāḍha-

phá[^], gallows, < Sk. pásha-

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phulá[^], a tree, < Sk. palásha-

habho, all, < Sk. sarva-

bhú[~], straw, < Sk. busa-.

(3)

Aw. **ghin**, take, < Sk. gr̥hṇāti

liph, spleen, < Sk. plihá

bhāirā, bad, < Sk. vikāṭaḥ

nú[~]dhur, bruise by nail, < Sk. nakha-darí

bhukh, hunger, < Pk. bubhukkha, < bubhukṣá

mághá, dear, < Pk. mahagga-, Sk. mahárgha-

dhivár, day, < -dih-vár, < divasa-vára.

Aspiration in the following words is spontaneous—

ki[~]h, some, < Sk. kin̐cit

khú[^], well, < Sk. kupa-

khitti, pleiadas, < Sk. kṛtiká

khakhṛí, melon, < Sk. karkatíká

hardhul, tamarind, < Sk. haridrā

dhaddur, ringworm, < Sk. dadru-.

The tendency of [l] to favour aspiration, as noted by Dr. Jain, is also to be seen. Examples—

cá[~]lī, forty, and the succeeding figures upto 48

lá[~]l, saliva, < Sk. lálá

má[~]l, rope, < Sk. málá, or málya-

cu[~]l, stove, < Sk. cullīḥ

pe[~]lī, ant, < Sk. pipiliká.

N.B.—The phenomenon is a continuation of the tendency which had started in Pali (Geiger P. 57) and Prakrit (Pischel, PP. 147ff.).

Compare—

Pali phalu (paras), knots on a branch

bhusa- (busa-), straw.

Pk. khappara (karpara-) khila (kila-)

khujja (kubja-) pharusa (paruṣa-)

phaliká, (parikhá) kacchabha (kacchapa-)

thubha (stúpa-) vibhása (vipásha)

jhaḍila, (jaṭila-) bhimbisára (bimbisára)

Jain quotes (Punjabi p. 52) Pischel only on one word jhuth, lie, but it is clear phonologically that there is nothing new about the phenomenon. (See also Chatterjee, p. 437).

I agree with Dr. Chatterjee that onomatopoeic sense in many of

the above words has brought in aspiration. Most of the onomatopoeic words in Lahndi contain aspirated consonants. Aspiration has grown with sound symbolism.

IV. 5. Deaspiration

lik, line, (lekha, rekha)

sukka, dry, (shuska-)

gata, nape, (ghata)

it, brick, (ista-)

sau, gentleman, (sadh-).

In my opinion deaspiration in these words is due to contamination with some unaspirated forms. Compare Aw. **it**, brick, and **vatta**, stone; Aw. **gata**, nape, and Sk. gatra; Aw. **lik**, line, and H. **lek**.

The prefix *nis-* is simply **ni-** in Awankari.

nepir, squeeze, Sk. $\sqrt{\text{ni}}\text{spid}$

nitir, clarify, Sk. *nistarayati*.

IV. 6. Metathesis

Metathesis of words from foreign languages is given under X. 4. ü. and XI. 8. Metathesis in words from Sanskrit is also quite common.

Metathesis of whole syllables is not common. Examples—

hemel, necklace, < Sk. mekhalā

niJ, not. Cf. Old H. jani, not.

Examples of words in which vowels have changed places—

Aw. **savadhān**, complete, < Sk. sāvadhāna-

In the following words -h- or tone shifts its place regressively.

Aw. **vighā**, a measure of land, < vigha-

ja'ra, eleven, < Pk. eāraha-

hunālā, summer, < Sk. uṣṇa-kāla-

henārā, darkness, < Sk. andhakāra-

ghiddā, taken, < Pk. gihita-

hāth, sounding, < Sk. H. thāba-, bottom.

Metathesis of -h- or tone is progressive in the following words—

Aw. **lau'kā**, light, < Sk. laghukāḥ

sau'ra, father-in-law, < Sk. shvashura-

Compare also similar examples of two vowels trying to come together by shifting away an intervening sound.

IV

Aw. **neṁdrá**, wedding subscription, < nimantrakah

kaurá, bitter, < kaṭuka-

Metathesis in consonants other than -h- (Sk. or Pk.) may be noted below—

Aw. **valṭoṁá**, a metal pitcher, < Sk. vartuloha-

saddhur, longing, < Sk. shraddhá

suratthá, clean, < Sk. susthira-, H. sutharā

liph, spleen, < Sk. plihā-

adhkur, ginger, < Sk. ādraka-

kāsti (stsm), 11th day, < Sk. ekādashī

muṭuk, crown, < Sk. mukuṭa-

rāshuk (stsm.), demon, < Sk. rākṣasa-

khab, wings, < Sk. pakṣa-

chik, pull, < Sk. kṣati, cf. H. khicnā

laṁḍoká, loin cloth, cf. H. langotā.

It is yet difficult to give any phonetic reason for metathesis of sounds. One may think, as it also appears, that a particular sound is convenient to pronounce before another. But counter examples are so many that hypothetical theories cannot hold good. Compare—

Aw. **bucká**, < Per. bugcah, and Aw. **kácú**, < Per. qácú

nashká, < naqshah, but **nuksá**, < nuskah

saddhur, but Aw. **hardhul** above

khab, wings, but **vakh**, separate, and **pakh**, fortnight.

I think metathesis is an attempt to effect the least change in stsm. or borrowed words, and to make them look like native words.

IV. 7. Intrusion of [-r-]

On the analogy of preserved consonant groups with [-r-], Lahndi languages have introduced [-r-] in a large number of words. Awan-kari offers further examples of the intrusive [-r-]. Compare Jain § 176.

sarbaṁdhí, relative, < Sk. sambandhin

trakṛí, balance, < Sk. tarku-

traklá, spindle, < Sk. tarku-

tredhá, crooked, cf. P. **tedhá**

trihájá, thirsty, < Sk. tṛṣitah

cāuraṁttur, seventy four, < catus-saptati-

trap, jump, < Sk. √tarp; √talp.
trámá~, copper, < Sk. támra-
dhraḥ, fall, onom. dhak dhak
trakṛá, strong, cf. P. takṛá
trakkun, to stink, cf. Sk. takra- (sour milk).
adhroṛ, to untie, cf. Sk. √ud-har.

IV. 8. Prothesis of [h-]

We have already noted that in respect of vowels, the dialect has a greater preservative tendency than Punjabi and Hindi. Preserved vowels are further safeguarded by the prothetic [h-], which is a specifically Lahndi innovation. Examples—

ha~Jú, tears, < Sk. ashru-
hərnāli, castor, < Sk. eraṇḍa-
hik, one, < Sk. eka-
hika~llá, alone, < Sk. ekalya-
has, collar, < Sk. aṃsa-
hacchá, clear, cf. H. acchá
hussuṛ, close, < Sk. uṣman
hidde, this side, cf. P. idde
hi~J, like this, < Sk. evam
 etc.



PHONETIC SEMANTIC MODIFICATIONS



PHONETIC SEMANTIC MODIFICATIONS

1. PSM IN VOWELS.
2. PSM BY TONE OR ASPIRATION.
3. PSM BY NASALITY.
4. PSM OF CONSONANTS.
5. PSM BY EXTENSION.
6. PSM LATITUDINALLY.

Phonetic semantic modification of words is an important form of change effected by NIA languages. If we take into account our losses since the ancient Indo-Aryan, we begin to feel that our linguistic heritage is poor. An Awankar student of Sanskrit Dictionary can hardly tick-mark more than ten per cent words which have come down to his mother-tongue in some form or the other. Yet his vocabulary is essentially Indo-Aryan. From each one of the chosen words he has derived a number of vocables. For example—

From Sk. √val-, to move about, we get in Awankari **val**, turn, **valá**, turn (transitive), **vel**, to clean cotton, **ælhēt**, to wrap, **val**, creeper, etc., or from Sk. √brud-, to be drowned; we get in the dialect, **buḍ**, drown, **boḍí**, destruction, **boṛ**, dip, **buṛá**, cotton brush, etc.

A narrow-minded Sanskritist might call them Deshi words. According to the new theory they are tadbhavas. As Pischel (Pali,

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pages 6-7) puts it: "Indians include among Deshis very different elements. They connect these with all that cannot be traced back to Sanskrit either from the stand-point of form or meaning. Some scholars explain a word as *deshya*, others the same as *tadbhava*, each according to his learning in Sanskrit and cleverness in etymologising. Thus appear among Deshis those words which, although they go back to a Sanskrit root, but have no exactly corresponding form in Sanskrit, e.g., *pāso*, eye, Sk. *pashyate*. Further, there are compounds, whose components are indeed Sanskrit, but whose special meaning is not available in Sanskrit, e.g. *acchivaḍ aṇam*, shutting the eyes, = *akṣi + patana*".

Phonetic change in the form to bring about a change in meaning is not, therefore, a new phenomenon in Awankari or other NIA languages. In Sanskrit we get such doublets as,

bhajyate, serves	bhanakti, splits
loṭati, precedes	loṭhati, rolls
saṭṭ, to hurt	suṭṭ, to disregard
akṣati, reaches	akṣnoti, accumulates
acati, goes, speaks	an̐cati, worships
ajati, runs	anakti, decorates
kakate, wishes	kakhati, laughs
kasati, goes	kaṣati, tests, scratches
pudati, leaves, discovers	poḍati, grinds.

The system of getting more words by phonetic semantic modifications is continued in Prakrit, as in—

phāṭṭai, breaks	phuṭṭai, grows
phiṭṭai, falls	phiḍḍai, runs away
phuḍā, snake	phuḍia, sore
phitta, way	phaḍa, snake's body
phaḍā, snake's hood	

etc., etc.

From Sk. √ dar-, dal-, we get in Pk.—

dalai, pounds	dali-, pulse
daramalai, grinds	daliya, flour
dalia, thing	daria, frightened
dariā, cave	daliā, eye
dara, half	dara, fear

etc.

The importance of this theory has been slightly indicated by

Dr. Turner in tracing the etymologies of certain irregular words in Nepali (Nepali Dictionary; see e.g., copnu). See how helpless Dr. Chatterjee is (Bengali, p. 481) when owing to ignorance of P. S. M. he tries to trace back jhure, weeps, to anjhu or to jhar with a question mark.

V. 1. P. S. M. in vowels

Sometimes a new word is formed just by changing a vowel in the tadbhava word. Examples—

Aw. katur , cut as a cloth	kutur , cut as a bird does
ṭhak , place	ṭhuk , beat, ṭhok , make firm
cir , crack	cur , to ease, cúrá , powder
ṭaṅ , hang	ṭuṅ , tuck
de^o , day, Sun	de^a , tomorrow.

V. 2. P. S. M. by tone or aspiration

Tone also makes doublets in Awankari. Examples—

Aw. kar , to tie	cf.	Aw. ka^hr , be boiled
killá , peg		ki^hl , to use force
ubál , boil		ubá^hl , haste
cug , cat		cu^hg , suck
ror , pebbles		ro^hr , sweep away
Jul , go		Jhu^hl , blow
had , bone		ha^hdh , to last.

V. 3. P. S. M. by nasality

Nasal and non-nasal doublets are not very common. But the scheme does exist, as in—

Aw. vaJ , beat, blow	cf.	Aw. va^hJ , go
truṭ , break		tru^hṭ , pluck
Jhátá , hair on the forehead		Jhá^hṭ , pubic hair,

V. 4. P. S. M. of consonants

The following are only some of the examples—

Jhul , blow	cf.	Jhūṇ , wave
caṭ , lick		caḥh , taste
cubh , prick		khubh , thrust in
dub , drown		ṭubbi , dive
ḍaṭṭā , cork		ḍaṇḍā , staff
taṛ , swim, float		tal , fry
pāṭ , be torn		pār , tear
puḷ , suit, reach		pug , be finished
cīrā , turban		cīṛā , cloth

V. 5. P. S. M. by extension

The use of suffixes is an old tendency. This has been continued in Awankari which has got copious examples to offer, as—

uḍ , to fly (intr.)	cf.	uḍār , to fly (tr.),
uṭh , stand		uṭhar , stand up
ul , throw		ulur , throw up
co , milk		cod , copulate
copur , grease		cut , private part of a female
Jhār , dust		Jhārū , broom
		Jhar , fall down
ḍaṭ , stand firm		ḍaṭṭā , cork, stopper
phis , be crushed		phissi , a double-faced snake
bur , dip		burā , cotton brush
val , turn		valākā , coil
		valhet , wrap
		valid , roll
ḍaṇḍ , tooth		ḍaṇḍon , closing of mouth
		ḍaṇḍri , edge
		ḍaṇḍlā , one having big teeth
kach , armpit		kacchā , drawers
		kachatti , a jacket
caṭ , lick		coṭ , shoot, caṭṭi , unpaid labour
		caṭṭi , sauce, caṭṭuri , a pitcher
		caṭṭū , a mortar

mac , kindle, rise	cf.	macur , wrinkled forehead
		mécán , platform
		ma~jí , bedstead
		ma~j , neck
Cf. Aw. ɬuk , cut	and	H. ɬukrá , piece
		Aw. ɬok , check
		ɬokrá , basket
phuɬ , crack		phuɬí , cotton
		phuɬiá~ , pieces of curd
		phuɬár , a crack
		phuɬá~ , random talk.

Sometimes the development of a word is retarded at one stage and the next stage of the word forms a doublet.

Examples—

vaɬ , earn	cf.	va~ɖ , distribute
		vaɬ , enter
bud , drown		bur , dip
chat , roof		chaɬ , sack
ku~ɖ , a water receptacle		kunni , pitcher.

V. 6. P. S. M. Latitudinally

Most of the words in Awankari are modified phonetically and semantically in more than two ways. All the schemes noted above, sometimes, operate in creating a family of P. S. M.

Examples—

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| (1) khul , be opened | khir , bloom |
| khur , to fall piece by piece | khilur , scatter |
| khuruc , scratch | khuruk , itch |
| kha~ɖ , sugar | khi~ɖ , spread. |
| (2) bhas , ash | bhus , jaundice |
| bhussá , pale, sandy | bhú~ , straw |
| bussá , unornamented | bhassur , drudgery |
| bhosrí , an abusive term. | |
| (3) chat , roof | chaj , winnowing basket |
| chattur , umbrella | cheJe , husks |
| chatrá , ram with a tail | chatte , long hair. |
| chap , hide | chappur , hut, shed |

V

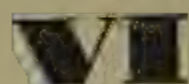
- | | |
|---|--------------------------------------|
| chittur , torn shoe | chat , double sack |
| chil , bark | chillur , skin, peel. |
| (4) Jut , be yoked | Jut , be joined |
| Jutti , shoe | Jutti , a piece of cotton |
| Jotā , pair | Jor , join, affection. |
| (5) cug , eat | cu^g , handful |
| cogā , food | cu^gi , octroi |
| cugh , suck teats | chūs , drink in. |
| (6) guḍ , unearth | gut , braid |
| guṭ , thick | gu^d , tie together |
| guⁿ , knead | guḍh , coil |
| ga^{dh} , tie, repair | gudur , rubbish |
| gor , to overpower | gutthi , bundle |
| gutāvā , fodder made by mixing several things. | |
| (7) ral , mix | ruḷ , scatter away |
| rol , collect | lar , branch |
| larī , series | latuk , hang |
| ru^r , bake | lu^r , flow |
| roṛ , pebbles and husks in corn | re^r , roll |
| lo^{rā} , a roller | luḍ , dangle |
| lūdā , fondling. | |
| (8) gol , round | gullī , tip |
| goluk , a safe box | goli , a tablet, pill |
| guliāi , roundness | golā , bomb. |
| (9) cappā , front part of the hand | cappur , wedge |
| capli , shoe | cāpri , layer |
| cepi , patch | caper (cāṛ), slap |
| (10) būr , pollen | būrā , saw-dust |
| bhūr , distribution of charity | bhur , to be eaten away |
| bhurattun , sand-stone | |

Also see the Chapter on Extensions and see what large families some words have. We are highly indebted to Dr. Turner for his learned article on copnu*, which should open a new vista in phonology.

*Turner : Nepali Dictionary.

VI

EXTENSIONS



EXTENSIONS

(Including History of Final sounds)

Phonologists do not generally care to trace the history of final sounds which they leave to morphologists. It has been a great mistake. Even if we take isolated words and not their grammatical forms, a large number of sounds remain unexplained. No doubt the NIA languages have dropped all final vowels and consonants of the ancient language, but they have built new sounds. The subject requires the serious attention of phonologists. The chapter in hand attempts to discuss the terminational extensions. We have already noted how phonetic semantic extensions were made by modifying medial sounds. Without those modifications and without these extensions, our vocabulary would have been utterly meagre.

Awankari, like Sindhi, appears to be a great word-builder. Note in this connection Beams's suggestion that literary languages have poor stock of original word-building.*

The importance of the study of "extensions" may be judged from the following instance :—

In deriving (Punjabi, page 72) the word **sau[~]kkap**, from sapatnī, Jain gives the equation -tn- > -kk- with a question mark. This indicates that the theory of extension had not yet dawned upon

*Vol. II, page 93.

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the mind of Jain or Turner. It is not a change of -in- to -kk-, but the discarding of the older suffix which is still to be noticed in Hindi *saut*, and extending the word by the new suffix -kk- which is more common in NIA.

The history of terminational sounds is all the more important for the reason that suffixal consonants had frequent changes, not so radical consonants. At the end of words, sounds are not generally accented. Hence they are likely to be attacked frequently.

The originality of NIA dialects lies mostly in their "extensions". Prakrits have been called the "mere apes of Sanskrit". NIA languages show by these extensional sounds, some of which are new inventions, that the apish mentality in them is negligible. On p. 56, Beams says: "The noun in all the modern languages takes its form from the nominative cases of Sk. and omits entirely the grammarians' fiction of a separate base-form". This statement is entirely absurd, for there have been many suffixal innovations in NIA directly from the base or even from the root, as in *paṛhákú*, *kaṛáká*, etc.

The study of extensions is important for the study of phonology, philology and semantics.

The first Chapter in Beams: Vol. II, is a masterpiece in this respect. Also refer to Dr. S. K. Chatterji's *Bengali*, pp. 993ff and *Kakti's Assamese*, pp. 230ff.

First we shall discuss vocalic and then consonantal terminations in Awankari.

(1) Aw. [-á] < -aka-

It is a very common suffix in NIA used to make masculine nouns, adjectives and verbs. The use of this termination has extended analogically to all these forms. Compare—

saváíá, one and a quarter times, < Sk. *sapádaka-*

dərokhá, lamp stand, < Sk. *dīpa-rakṣakaḥ*

dhabbá, washerman, < Sk. *dhāvyaḥ*

dívá, lamp, < Sk. *dīpakaḥ*

buṛdā, ear-drop (Umlaut and extension), < Sk. *bindu-*

bhārá, fare, < Sk. *bhāṭakaḥ*.

(2) Aw. [-á] < pleonastic suffix -á added to past passive participle.

Jullá, gone, from Aw. *Jul*, go < √ *jval*, √ *jvar*

ghiddá, taken, < Pk. *gihita-*

dittá, given, < Sk. datta-
etc.

- (3) Aw. [-á] < Sk. -áka-, as Vedic yuṣmáka, asmáka, etc.
necá, high, **ṭhelá**, go-cart, **melá**, fair, **ká~**, crow, < Sk. káka,
mitṭhá, sweet, etc.

- (4) Aw. [-á], < -ápa (causal suffix)
niklá, going out, exit, from **nikul**
bacá, safety, from **bac**
etc.

- (5) Aw. [-á] < -ániya, Pk. aṇaam
vaṭṭná, unguent, < udvartaniyam
dhussá, blanket, < √dhus, P. S. M. of Pk. √dhas.

- (6) Aw. [-á~] < ánam (oblique used absolutely)
usá~, to him, cf. Dhanoci **usan**
kává~, to crows
ghoṛiá~, to mares
etc.

- (7) Aw. [-á~] < -ámi, Apa. -ául (Pischel, p. 322)
kará~, I may do, < karámi
hassá~, I may laugh, < hasámi
etc.

(8) Aw. [-í] < -iká, is the "most popular feminine suffix in NIA".
Its extension is analogical to most of the forms — nouns, adjectives,
verbs, etc.

vaḍḍhí, bribe, < vṛddhi-
dátrí, sickle, < dátra-
dhunni, navel, < tuṇḍa-
siñí~, jute, H. sann-
sukki, dry, < shuṣka-
go~rí, dose, < guṭiká
ka~ḍí, small scales, < kaṇṭiká
kunni~, pot, < kuṇḍa-
kirá~rí, Hindu lady, < kiráta-

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duprī, bread with two layers, < dvi-putaḥ
etc.

- (9) Fem. [-ī] is analogically used in the sense of diminution in—
bharī, load, < Sk. bhāraḥ
paṭṭī, bandage, < Sk. paṭṭa
pātrī, a plate, < Sk. pātra.

- (10) Aw. [-ī] < -ika or Persian suffix [-ī] as in **shāīrī**, citizen
girāī, villager, < grāma-
hānī, of same age, < ardha- (near) ?
P. **ādhi** (companion) and **ārī**
gavādhi, neighbour, < grāma- upakaṇṭha-.

- (11) Aw. [-ī] < -īya
desī, country-made, < deshīya-
udhārī, on loan, < uddhāra-.

The words like **so'pī**, beautiful (fem.), **ca'gī**, fine, **vā'ī**, ploughing, may be due to the influence of both [-ikā] or [-īya].

- (12) [-ī] < -in (as suggested by Chatterji, p. 671) is not possible. It is rather analogical extension in NIA, possibly from -īya. Examples—

hālī, ploughman, < Sk. hala-
mālī, gardener, < Sk. mālā-
hānī, of same age, < Sk. ardha-, near
shorī, noisy fellow, < Per. shor.

- (13) Aw. [-ī] < Apa -ahī (adverbial)
kadī, if, when
dhiārī, during day
rātī, at night.

- (14) Aw. [-ī] in **nāī**, barber, etc., is not an extension but obtained as the result of contraction of vowels coming in contact from Sk. nāpita-.

- (15) Aw. [-ī] in **ṭhaggī**, cheating, **ca'giāī**, goodness, is adopted from the Persian form of abstract nouns, **bādī**, **neki**, etc.

(16) Aw. [-i] fem. pl. < Sk. *īni*, transferred.

da^hi, curd, < Sk. *dadhīni*

ma^hi, buffaloes

gāi, cows

etc.

(17) Aw. [-i] < Pk. [-iā], as in

kari, having done, cf. Pk. *karia*

ghiddi, having taken, taking

ditti va^hi, go giving (this to him)

turi ā, come walking along.

(18) Aw. [-ú] in *mákhú*, honey, appears to be due to the influence of Apa. [-u]. It may be an innovation. Or, it may be due to contamination between *máksika*, and *madhu*, or it may be a case of preservation, as many words ending in [-ú] exist in the dialect. It may be analogical. Theoretically, however, it may be derived from dogmatic [-uka]. More examples—

kháú, eater

darú, timid

páskú, balance, weight

olú, cistern

uḍáú, extravagant

vikáú, for sale

sirá^hdú, pillow

unnú, pad under pitcher

bharṭhú, a pudding of brinjal

ishrú, O Ishar

pəhárú, livestock.

(19) Voc. [-ú] in proper names *ishrú*, *nihálú*, *labbhú*, etc., is used abusively. It might have its origin in some Apabhramsha dialect. Compare, also fem. [-o] used contemptuously. I doubt if [-ú] has simple relation with -uka. It has a significant sense in Aw. It may be the enclitic -hu from Apabhramsha.

(20) Aw. [-e] nom. pl. < Pk. -a (acc.) (Saksena, p. 133)

According to Chatterjee (pp. 723-24) it is the oblique -e extended, as in *ghorahi*, < *ghotebhih*. Beams (vol. II, p. 235) thinks that this

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-e is from pronominal adjective form of sarve.

Aw. **naddhe**, boys, **ghore**, horses, etc.

(21) Aw. [-e] oblique, < Sk. Gen. sing.

The stages of development may be illustrated thus—

Ghoṭakasya, ghoḍaassa, ghoḍaaha, ghoḍaa, ghoṛaya, **ghore**.

Also note Apa, ghoḍayaha, ghoḍehu.

(22) Aw. [-e] < Pk. ae, Sk. -ake, (Jain p. 38).

agge, in front

picche, behind

neṛe, near.

I, however, believe that it is an extension of the Sk. loc. -e. Compare Aw. **ghare**, in the house, **akvāle**, to Akwaal village. Most of the phonological equations are dogmatic and misleading.

(23) Aw. [-a] < Pk. ai, Sk. -ati

vatte, may earn, Pk. vattai, Sk. vartati

kare, may do, Pk. karai

and all such forms in subjunctive III person singular.

(24) Aw. [-e] < Pk. -chi, Sk. -edhi

kare, you may do

care, you may graze

disse, you may be seen

(II person singular).

We thus find most of the verbal forms in Awankari going back to those in Apabhramsha. Compare—

Aw. **kará**, I may do, Apa. karau

kare, he may do, < karai

kará, we may do, < karahú

kare, you may do, < karahi

karo, you (pl.) may do, < karaha.

(Bloch, Indo-Aryan, p. 249).

(25) Aw. [-o] imp. < Apa. -aba, Pk. atha, OIA -ata

vaJo, go

huro, get down

sikho, learn

dabho, bury.

(26) Aw. [-o] in **rádho**, a name, **mathro**, a name, may be due to the erroneous use of vocative as nominative.

(27) Aw. Voc. [-o] < ancient Nom. Voc. plus enclitic, -ho

Játko, O boys

rádho, O Radha

lakkho, O Lakshmi

karío, O girls.

[-o] is used as such with nouns of feminine gender in singular and nouns of masculine and feminine gender in plural.

(28) Aw. [-o~] adverbial, < Sk. -am

mo^ro~, first

muddho~, from the beginning

gharo~, from the house

etc.

(29) Aw. [-ái] < Sk. ápika

It is used as a termination in abstract nouns.

kamái, earning, < karmápika

kasái, charges for fitting, < karṣati

sivái, charges for sewing

cirái, charges for sawing.

but in **miṭhái**, sweetmeat, which is from **miṭhá**, sweet, [-í] is apparently a feminine suffix. Note that [-í] above is added to causative forms.

lɔrái, quarrel

voḍiái, greatness. Compare **vaḍḍá**, great.

cə~giái, goodness. Compare Aw. **ca~gá**, good.

There may be Persian influence also as in **neki**, **badi**, **ṭhagi**, etc.

(30) Aw. [-áú] < ápuka

It is in fact [-ú] added to verbs in transitive-causative form—

khá, **umá**, **ḍerá**, etc.,

kháú, eater

umáú, oozing out

ḍeráú, about to frighten.

(31) Aw. [-ává] < -ápakah

It is used to make agental nouns from verbs in transitive causative form

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- ḍarāvā**, something to scare
khiḍāvā, one who makes a child play
gharghaṭāvā, one who brings loss in the house
cəṛhāvā, present.

(32) Aw. [-ḍā] < ukah+akah, is a difficult suffix. It seems that double extension has taken place for semantic differentiation.

- əṛḍā**, temporary structure
bhaṛḍā, buffoon
ḍhḍā, buttocks.

(33) Aw. [-t] or [-ṭ] < -tvam or -tra

Beams points out that in the majority of instances [-r-] goes out, leaving only the [t]. It is used to make abstract nouns as the following:—

- Jhəlat**, madness, from Aw. **Jhallā**, mad
valgut, way, cf. P. val, way
Jhāt, peep
Jhikāt, low place, Aw. **Jhikkā**, low.

(34) The most productive suffix in Awankari appears to be [-t]. It was already a popular suffix in Sanskrit, as in capeṭā, karpata-, vadhūṭi, etc. But this Sk. [-t] was changed to [ḍ] in MIA. Aw. [-t] has the same semantic significance as Sk. [-t]. But its preservation is unexpected. Beams (vol. II, pp. 121-22) is worried about the history of this suffix. He gives [-t] suffix even in Pashto, as largotai "a small stick", but largai, "stick", and adds: "the existence of this form in Pashto is a confirmation of its antiquity and justifies my attributing it to the early tadbhava period." This remark opens up new vistas in the history of this suffix. If very ancient and not available in OIA definitely, possibly it may be from a substratum from which Aryan and Iranian have borrowed commonly. Or it has been borrowed from Pashto. But the simultaneous existence of [-t], [ḍ], [r], [-r] and [-l] as diminutive suffixes suggests a chronological order of the development of this all-Indian suffix.

Platts in his Hindustani Dictionary traces all such suffixes to Sk. -vaṭa. Beams erroneously traces [-ḍ] back to Sk. [-r] (p. 116). It is clearly [-t] which exists at various stages of its modification. The following examples will explain the fact—

(35) Aw. [-t]

sarót, reeds, < Sk. shara-**gabhrot**, young boy, < Sk. garbharúpa-**bhavát**, wanderer, vagabond, < Sk. bhramati**nút**, shut, < Sk. √nu.

(36) Aw. [-tá] = [-t] + masculine [-á]

bəkrotá, a small goat, < barkara-**barotá**, a young tree, < badara-**kəlhotá**, a small granary, < kalasha-**ḍotá**, double, < dvau-.

(37) Aw. [-tí]

On page 121 (vol. II) Beams points out that "additional emphasis is given to the idea of smallness by the use of the feminine termination [-í]". This valuable remark explains the origin of many conglamorated suffixes. In the course of time the original meaning of a suffix is lost, as it is perceived to be a part of the word itself, and so there rises the need of innovating other suffixes. Note in this article how the dialect has been extending words by such innovations.

Here, of course, [-í] may be the feminine [-í] as there is masculine [-á] in the words listed above.

(38) Aw. [-ḍ]

hád, hope

Cf. Sk. áshá, from which mere á was expected in Awankari. Extension is made for distinction

mukhad, mouth-gag**cəhed**, teasing words

Cf. H. cīh.

(39) Aw. [-ḍá] < Pk. aḍao (showing deformity)

ghidḍá, crooked legged, < √ghṛ-

According to Beams (pp. 116ff) "the commonest type of the diminutive is that which has for its characteristic the letter -ḍ-, copiously illustrated in Sindhi and Marāṭhi". Awankari form appears to be the older stage.

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- (40) Aw. [-dā] in

māi[~]dā, mine**tāi[~]dā**, yours

is obscure. But it is certainly an older form of H., P. *merā*, *terā*, although the intervening link is missing.

- (41) Aw. [-r] is the next stage to the popular Guj., Mar. [-ḍ].

chekur, end**pichokur**, back part of a house.

The last two words contain double suffixes. Differentiation, sometimes, requires more than one extensional sound, as noted above.

kuchur, lap, < Pk. *kucchi*, Sk. *kukṣiḥ***pakbur**, mountain-side, < Pa. Pk. *pakkha*, Sk. *pakṣa-***vau[~]r**, bull-calf, < Sk. *vahaḥ*, shoulder of an ox.

- (42) Also note [-r] extension applied to Awankari words themselves.

[-r] in the following words is not quite old.

sīr, sew, also **sī**, (doublets)**uṭhur**, rise, also **uṭh**, (doublets)**giṭar**, stony place, cf. Aw. **giṭā**, pebble**havar**, steam, cf. **havā**, wind.

- (43) The vowel before [-r] in the following words is an additional infix, the exact significance of which is obscure.

phuṭar, crack, < Sk. *√sphuṭ-***pighiār**, wolf, < Sk. *vyāghra-***khakhār**, lower jaw, < Aw. *khakh*, cheek.

- (44) Aw. [-rā] is a common double suffix showing diminution and masculine gender.

budhrā, oldish, cf. Aw. **buddhā****camrā**, skin, cf. **cam****nīrā**, younger, cf. **nikkā****trakrā**, strong, < Sk. *tark-***bacrā**, child, cf. Aw. **baccā****khosrā**, torn shoe, from Aw. **khus**, to be torn**dhorā**, hedge, < Sk. *dhapayati*.

In **puharā**, heap of straw, < Sk. *busavāṭakah*, [-rā] apparently is not a suffix.

(45) In the following, [-rá] is analogically affixed to make the word distinct.

saurá, narrow, < Sk. *√sakuc*

thorá, little, < Sk. *stoka-*.

(46) Aw. [-rí] is the feminine correspondent of the above.

tákrí, window, < Per. *tāq*, door

pāirí, leg, rope, < Sk. *pāda-*

khalrí, skin, cf. Aw. **khal**, hide

Játakrí, girl, also Aw. **Játki**

trakrí, scales, < Sk. *tarku-*.

The forms like **pikaurá**, **pikaurí**, **adhaurí**, suggest that [-rí] is from -vaṭi.

(47) [-í] in **ájrí**, shepherd, < Aw. **ajjur**, flock. cf. **ajá**, goat, is from Masc. form -in, or -iya.

(48) Aw. [-r].

Beams (vol. II page 92) points out that Sindhi changes the [-l] of -álu, to [-r] as in "dhanáru". Even in Hindi, Sk. [-l] has become [-r]—Beams p. 94.

In my opinion it is the same old [-t] or Pk. [d] or innovational [t] which has been assuming various chronological forms.

cho^hr, boy, cf. H. *chokrá*

phaníar, cobra, < Sk. *phañi-*

ṭukur, bread, cf. H. *ṭukrá*

dávur, spider, < Sk. *dāma-*, rope.

(49) Aw. [-r].

khilur, be scattered

khilár, scatter

uḍur, fly (intr.)

uḍár, fly.

These verbal extensions without effecting any semantic change in the original word are unique. Generally, phonetic extension is necessitated by semantic differentiation.

(50) In some cases Aw. [-rá] may be from Sk. -rakah, as in **suthrá**, (Aw. **suratthá**, by metathesis) from Sk. *susthirakah*.

padhrá, plain, < Sk. *paddhati*, Deshi *paddhara*

kothr a dirty, formed on the analogy of **suthrá**

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gathrá, muddy, < Per. *gandah*
vakhrá, separate, < Sk. *vakṣas*
saJrá, fresh, < Sk. *sadya-*.

(51) The sense of diminution is conveyed by [-rá] in the following words. This [-rá] definitely belongs to the old family of [-t].

kə́túrá, puppy, cf. **kuttá**,
cə́túrá, a pitcher, glutton, cf. **caṭṭú**,
bə́térá, quail, < Sk. *√vartaka-*
liárá, milching animal, < Sk. *√lih*
və́rtárá, custom, cf. H. *bartáv*.

(52) Aw. [-rí] in fem. sense.

dãdrí, border, cf. Sk. *danta-*
ãdúrí, round ball of anything, < Sk. *anda-*
khə̃dúrí, ball, < Sk. *kanduka-*
də̃gorí, a small stick, < Sk. *darśha-*.

(53) Aw. [-re] in *əgere*, further, *urere*, nearer, has of course nothing to do with the historical [-t]. It is from OIA. -tara and loc. -e.

(54) In **Juáriá**, gambler, the suffixes -kárin and -káraka, appear to have worked together.

(55) Aw. [-l].

(a)

-lá, or -lí, is a productive suffix found in many modern languages. In adjectival forms it is, indeed, from Sk. -āla, or -ālu, as in Sk. *vácāla*, *dayālu-*, etc. See No. (c) below. It may be an innovation in (a) and (b).

(b)

dhənel, coriander, cf. Sk. *dhānyam*
pəsel, side beam, cf. Sk. *pārshva-*.

(c)

dərákul, timid, from Aw. **dar**
shərmákul, shy, cf. Aw. **sharum**,
tiriákul, third party, cf. Aw. **triá**.

(56) Regarding **kāūrīl**, full of anger

Compare Beams (p. 95) who derives such forms from Sk. -ila, Pk. -illa, as in H. ghasīla, grassy. This suffix, he says, "is a favourite in Hindi and Punjabi, though less frequent in other languages."

marīal, dead-like, appears to be a loan from Hindi. We expected **marīl**.

(57) Aw. [-lā] may be from Sk. -ala- but its semantic relationship is obscure. In Awankari, it is used to make nouns in apposition.

vəholā, mattock, < Sk. vāshī (adze)

tīlā, straw, < Sk. tṛṇa-

pəṭo^hlā, toy-cloth, < Sk. paṭṭa

rāulā, noise, < Sk. rava

ḷaulā, small vermicelli, < Sk. yava-

(58) Aw. [-lā] < Sk. -la as in pīṭala + masc.-akah

On the analogy of **pīlā**, yellow, **māilā**, dirty, are formed.—

vickārlā, middle one, cf. Aw. **vic**, in

pārlā, the one across, < Sk. pāram

naveklā, separate, < Sk. na-eka-

parlā, the farther one, < Sk. para-

leślā, pasty, cf. Aw. **les**, paste

da^hdlā, having big teeth, < Sk. danta-

hika^hllā, alone, < Sk. ekalya-

sukhallā, convenient, < Sk. sukha-

gheslā, lazy, (Onom.)

also

aglā, next, < Sk. agra-

pichlā, last, < Sk. pashca-

rā^hglā, coloured, < Sk. raṅga-

(59) Aw. [-lī] is the feminine correspondent of [-lā].

Examples—

ghərolī, small pitcher, < Sk. ghataḥ

kədhōlī, a small wall, < Sk. skandha-

kədhli, neck strap, < Sk. kaṇṭha-

urli, one on this side, < Sk. avara-

(60) Aw. [-āl] < Sk. -āla, "possessing", "pertaining to"

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titrál, a place name, from **tittur**, partridge

muthrál, a place name, from **mathrá**, name of a person.

It is extended even to Persian loan words in Awankari, e.g., **shermálú**, shy.

The glide before [-ál] in the following words is a further extension—

dudiál, a place name, from **dudh**, milk

budhiál, a place name, from **buddhá**, old

miál, a place name, from **miá**, scholar.

(61) [-vál] is usually derived from Sk. -pála, but in the following group it is closely allied to the [-ál] above. [v] is another glide introduced before [-ál].

meləkvál, a place name, from "Malik"

bhəlvál, partner, PI. bhajyate, is divided

cəkvál, a place name

divál, giver.

(62) Aw. infinitive termination [-uṇ] < -anam, as in gamanam, etc. [-u-] of course is from Apabhraṃśa.

vaṇṇuṇ, to go

khəvuṇ, to eat

devuṇ, to give

pīvuṇ, to drink

ghinnuṇ, to take

etc.

(63) [-ṇ] is also used in nominal extension. It is the same Sk. -anam as in dānam, etc.,

kucuṇ, brush, < Sk. kūrca-

nəheruṇ, nail cutter, < Sk. nakha-hara-

pruṇ, sieve

pəlethuṇ, flour, < Sk. paryasta-

dəvuṇ, picket rope, < Sk. dāma-

dəḍuṇ, closing of jaws, < Sk. danta-

(64) The feminine suffix [-ṇi], in the words below, is from OIA -ni, -āni—

kəsaṇi, butcher's wife, < Per. qaṣāi

sāṇi, mistress, < svāminī

māluṇ, gardener's wife, < mālīnī

musalluṇ, sweeper's wife.

- (65) Aw. [-uṇ] < -punaḥ in
kadduṇ, when, < Sk. kadā-punaḥ
tikuṇ, upto etc.

- (66) Aw. [-ṇá] is the same OIA -anam, further extended by the masculine suffix.

velṇá, ginning machine
kudhṇá, poker, P. S. M. **kadhṇá**, taking out
roṇá, of weeping nature.

- (67) The gerundial [-ṇá], is also the same.

deṇá, giving **roṇá**, weeping
khávṇá, eating **maṅṇá**, asking
 etc.

- (68) [-ára] in the following words is different. It might be from OIA -ánaka, as in Sk. kathánaka-.

muhána, boatsman, < mukha-
dhiḡána, forced, cf. **dhiḡá**, by force
 also compare **dhikká**, onom.

cərokṇá, for long, contains a number of suffixes [-k]- [-uṇ] + mas.-á, cf. **cir**, **cərok**, **cəroká**, **cərokun**, **cərokṇá**, **cərokṇí**—all cases of P. S. M.

- (69) [-ṇí], [-áni] are feminine correspondents of [-ṇá], [-ána].

According to Kakti (pp. 262-3) and Chatterjee §. 445, the NIA feminine suffixes -ní, -áni, -íní, are not derived from OIA -ní, -áni. They are only reminiscent generalisations of OIA -ní, ání.

I think in some cases it is -anam, + fem. -i; in some cases it is -ániká, and in others it is generalized -ní, ání, íní, inherited from late MIA. Examples—

(1)

kəcúṇí, hair about ears, < Sk. kaca-, hair
chúṇí, lid, < IE. sque-
búṇí, handsell, cf. Aw. **bau**, sit.

(2)

maḍháṇí, churning stick, < manthániká
raḥáṇí, a case for tools, < rakṣániká
masváṇí, inkpot, cf. Sk. masi- (ink).

(3)

mishráñi, Brahman's wife, < Masc. **mishur**
niháñi, barber's wife, < Masc. **nái**
diráni, husband's younger brother's wife, < Masc. **der**
guriáni, Guru's wife, < Masc. **guru**
Jitháni, husband's elder brother's wife, < Masc. **Jeth**
bhiáni, Bhai's wife, < Masc. **bhai**
sə-váni, wife, may be from Sk. su-vanítā-, or swáminí.

(70) [-k]

Chatterjee (p. 680) thinks that [-k] in MIA is from OIA. kṛta, or it is PI. -aka, first introduced as tsm. Compare Sk. Jálaka, a netlet, and bálaka, boy.

Aw. **chek**, hole, < Sk. cheda-
Játuk, boy, < Sk. janah
ka^hJuk, girl, < Sk. kanyá
chiruk, foot path
kiruk, sand, < Sk. kirati
gi^huk, fruit stone, < Sk. guṭiká
ḍholuk, a small drum, cf. Aw. **ḍhol**

I, however, believe that [-k] is a new suffix in NIA. Its coincidence with OIA -k is accidental. Note :—

bai^huk, a sitting room, from **bai^h**
Λ^huk, rankling, cf. **Λ^h**
A^huk, stop, cf. Sk. Vatt.

(71) Aw. [-k] is onomatopoeic extension in the following words—

khisuk, slip away
ciluk, shine
khuruk, itch
lamuk, be prolonged.

On page 885, Chatterji gives a list of suffixes (like k, t, etc.) which build secondary roots in Bengali. Awankari innovations appear to be large in number. A comparative study of suffixes in NIA languages is a great desideratum.

(72) Aw. [-k] is quite a productive suffix used to convey a variety of forms and meanings.

oruk, at last.

(73) In the following words it is analogical to the onomatopoeic [-k].

thak, tired, < Sk. $\sqrt{\text{sthā-}}$

chek, hole, < Sk. cheda-

(74) Aw. [-k] < Aw. **hik**, Sk. *eka* becoming enclitic.

rattik, a little, cf. H. *rattā bhar*

zarək, just a little, cf. H. *zarā bhar*

vedhik, more

cārik, about four

Cf. **cir**, and **ciruk**, delay.

(75) Aw. [-s] < Pk. -se, "his" (enclitic)

Jātius, he thought about him

ākhius, he said to him.

Compare Chatterji : Bengali, page 980.

(76) In Aw. [-k^á], the same [-k] has been further extended by masculine [-á]. [-k^á] may be derived from MI. [-kk^á]. Bloch derives it from OIA *kya-* < *-akiya-*, as in *parakīya*, etc. (Mar. p. 105). Examples—

paṭk^á, a small turban

cick^á, a small cake of soap

lau^ák^á, light

ṭoṭk^á, a tit bit, cf. Aw. **ṭoṭ^á**, piece

hok^á, proclamation

lu^áṛk^á, ear-drop.

(77) The adjectival [-k^á] is another extension of the same [-k]. It is, no doubt, a NIA invention. Examples—

əJok^á, today's

kelhok^á, yesterday's

pərok^á, last year's

cərok^á, since long

ətrok^á, since day before yesterday

ghərok^á, of the house

pek^á, of the parents

nānk^á, dād^ák^á, of the grandfather.

- (78) [-ká] is unique in—
 ləráká, quarrelsome
 valáká, coil
 bhiráká, fighter.
- (79) [-k] in the following words can either be traced back to MIA -kk- < OIA -k-, or it is analogical.
 sakká, real (relative), cf. Skt. sakhá, svakiya-
 Jatká, pertaining to a Jat
 ucakká, rogue
 Jhikká, low, cf. Skt. adhyak-
 nikká, small, cf. OIA. nyak-.
- (80) Aw. [-ki] is the fem. correspondent of [-ká]. Examples—
 durkí, trot
 ḍaḍkí, a stick
 phirkí, shuttle.
- (81) Aw. [-etá], [-ete], as in—
 dhete, party of the bride, from Aw. dhi, daughter
 putrete, party of the bride-groom, from Aw. puttur, son.
 In the opinion of Beams (Vol. II, p. 103) the suffix is traceable to Skt. -ita, used to form secondary nouns.
- (82) Aw. [-c] and [-J] < Skt. -tya
 Beams was unable to find this suffix in any language but Sindhi and Marathi (Vol. II, p. 110).
 ucec, something special, cf. Aw. uccá
 dhanoci, language of Dhan (Chakwal)
 nə́geJ, naked part, cf. Aw. naḡá
 pakeJ, ripeness, confirmity, cf. Aw. pakká
 surheJ, parents-in-law's house, cf. Aw. sām̐rá.
- (83) [-p] < Skt. -tva
 suḡpap, beauty, cf. Aw. soḡpá, < shobhana-
 siāṇep, wisdom, cf. Aw. siāṇá, < sajn̐ánaka-
 Jhəlap, madness (doublet of Jhəlat,—shows mixture of dialects).

- (84) [-puṇ] < Vedic. -tvanam
 lucpuṇá, mischief, from luccá
 bhāṛpuṇá, badness, from bhāṛá
 shodhpūṇá, helplessness, from shodhá
 rēḍepá, widowhood, contains [-p] further extended for distinction.
- (85) [-bá] in the following words is, most probably, vocalized [-pá]—
 vāsebá, living standard
 hōdebá, treatment with others.
- (86) [-t] < Skt. -tva, is a doublet form of [-p],
 Jhēlat, madness, from Jhallá
 lāuṁkiat, lightness, meanness, from lāuṁká
- (87) [-tuṇ] < Vedic -tvanam, is a doublet form of -puṇ, as in
 pilattuṇ, yellowness, from pilá.
- (88) Aw. [-gá] appears to be fragment of some noun (anga-?) now serving as a suffix.
 bhāṁgá, squint-eyed, < -apāṅgaḥ
 legá, parasitical
 chiggá, having six teeth
 cāṅgá, having four teeth.
- (89) [-gí] is the feminine correspondent of [-gá]
 vāngí, variety, cf. Sk. varṇaḥ
 legí, greedy.
- (90) [-úṅgá] again, is a fragment of some noun.
 sēplúṅgá, a small snake
 bilúṅgrá, kitten has a double suffix [-úṅgá] + [-rā].
- (91) Attributive [-vā] appears to be an innovation in Awankari.
 Examples—
 tolvā, weighed
 ghārvā, that can be mended
 Joṛvā, joined
 ucāvā, that can be raised

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gádhvá, that has been repaired.

(92) Aw. [-tá] is from Sk. P. P. [-átá], Pk. -áttá, or it may be an extension of the [-t] suffix of abstract nouns, like **Jhəlat**, **lau'kiat**, etc. Examples—

pasittá, on one side

chittá, peevish

ma'gtá, beggar.

(93) Aw. [-tá] has been cerebralized in—

curattá, of a stealing nature

karattá, botheration.

(94) The terminations in the following forms seem to be parts of some compounded words now lost by syncopation. The words have become utterly unrecognizable.

thobá, mud-patch, cf. Sk. $\sqrt{\text{sthá}}$ -

dhirkháṇú, fruit of bakayan tree, cf. Aw. **dhrek**

muklává, permission to have household, cf. Sk. mukta- Aw.

muk, relieved

tarkirá, something polluted, < Aw. **trak**

viḷi'duṛ, bride or bridegroom -elect, < Aw. **viḷá**, marriage

sikha'duṛ, apprentice, < Aw. **sikh**, learn

ghí'd, one likely to accept, < Aw. **ghin**, take

suṇi'd, one ready to listen, < Aw. **suṇ**.



ONOMATOPOETIC FORMATIONS

VIII

ONOMATOPOETIC FORMATIONS

1. ONOMATOPOEAS.
2. ECHO-WORDS.
3. INTENSIVE WORDS.
4. NURSERY WORDS.
5. SOUND SYMBOLISM.

VII. 1. Onomatopoeas

Awankari is extremely rich in onomatopoeic words. In the opinion of Dr. Chatterjee (p. 371) "most onomatopoeic forms go back to MIA", which, I think, is a sweeping generalization. No doubt, MIA contains these words on a lavish scale, but it would be dangerous to attempt to seek 'historical development' in such formations. Dr. Jain also (§. 180) thinks that there is some connection between Vedic, Sanskrit and Punjabi onomatopoeas. I believe that they are independent of time and space, that they have no history and that they may be found even in non-IA languages and in all countries. Dr. Chatterjee may find Kol influence in the formation of Bengali onomatopoeas (p. 175), and I may trace Iranian or Dardic effect and some-one else might connect them with African sounds ; but the fact is that they are universal and spontaneous.

VII

There are no hard and fast rules regarding the incidence of onomatopoeic forms in Awankari. Most of the words, however, end in [-k] or are extensions from [-k] forms. Compare—

ṭhuk, be beaten, **ṭhok**, strike, **ṭhau[~]ká**, a nap, **ṭhú[~]gá**, stroke on scales
dhəbúk, wasp, **dhəbú[~]ṛí**, wasp

bhabuk, roar, **bhabká**, kettle-drum

məruk, sound under teeth, **murukná**, well fried

bhau[~]k, bark, **bhau[~]ká**, noisy

ḍasuk, sob, **ḍəskore**, sobs

hokun, proclaim, **hoká**, proclamation, **hokərná**, call

bhák, bleat, **bok**, cry aloud

bu[~]ṛuk, grunt, **ba[~]ṛuk**, boil

dhik, push, **dhrak**, sudden jump, **dhrík**, drag

ṭhak, prepare a bridegroom, **ṭhəkor**, strike, **thiruk**, slip

taṛuk, fry, **taṛká**, frying butter

dhamuk, jolt, **dhəmká**, terrify

chaṇuk, jingle, **chiṇuk**, sprinkle

ghúk, sound asleep, **ghukár**, roaring noise

cík, scream, **kúk**, shrill

kəṛakní, scorching heat, **kaluk**, burnt, **kaṛuk**, break, **khəṛuk**,
 wide awake

Jhak, be frightened, **Jhamuk**, wink

ṭak, cut, **ṭuk**, bite(v), **ṭakkur**, collision

ṭiluk, slip, **ṭilkuṇ**, slippery ground

ḍak, shut, **ḍikár**, a belch, **ḍik**, bump

phak, chuck in, **phakká**, mouthful, **phakkí**, powder, **phúk**, blow
 of wind, **phoká**, hollow, **phikká**, tasteless

bok, chatter, **boká**, bucket, inkpot

suṇuk, blow nose, **suruk**, sip

ghəṛuk, beating of heart, **ghurkuṇ**, a toy, **ga[~]ṛuk**, rumble

giṭkár, sound of break- **buṛák**, phlegmatic **cuṭkí**, pinch
 ing fingers substance

ḍurkí, trot

bhúkpe[~], gushes

guṭuk, giggling

hiḍkí, hiccough

lishuk, flash

bik, drive cattle

thuk, spit

khuruk, itch

khisuk, slipaway

riṛuk, churn

lak, lick

kusuk, grumble

hucká, jolt

haúk, sigh heavily

kau[~]k, partridge

kiruk, sand

lau[~]k, throb

shúk, hiss

miák, bleat

1.

hiṇuk, bray **phaṇuk**, flutter etc., etc.

Another characteristic of these forms is that they favour aspirated letters which convey definite sounds and motions. Compare—

ghuggú, owl **ghugrú**, bell
gháṁgá, a bee **ḍhoḍhur**, wild crow
ḍhaḍorá, proclamation by drum **ḍaph**, tabor, drink water

dhomál, a dance **dhobúk**, wasp
bhēbhun, an insect **bhukāṇá**, balloon
duthrú, choking by drink **uthrú**, choking by water in windpipe

bhām̐ká , noisy	dhure , lie	JhaJhá , falterer
ḍhāl̐ , fall	bhák , bleat	buṇuk , bawl
ghuḡgī , dove	bhaṇ bhaṇ , burning intermittently	
phis , be crushed	dhul , throw out	dhukh , smoke
nich , sneeze	dhik , push	dhraī̐ , collapse
thiṛ , be removed	ṭhak , clatter (v)	ṭhokor , clatter
ḍhik , low (v)	chāṇ , sieve (v)	khaghál , cleanse
khaḡ , cough	cagh , grin	Jham , shower (n)
Jhammun , beat	Jhab , clean (v)	Jhukh , desire more
Jhakkhur , storm	ṭhil , get along	phaddá , toothless
thobá , patch of mud	dhraḡgá , dead body	huph , closed air
thatthá , stammerer	JháḡJráḡ , anklets	khaghár , phlegm
kharkhag , whooping cough	bhāūr , bee	ḍhaḡn , pond

ḍhāḍhī, bon-fire **paṇacchá**, water-fall **phosī**, dung
kharkhrá, curry-comb **dhraphuṛ**, prickly heat etc., etc.

Generally, however, I should say that almost all consonants may begin or end an onomatopoeic word. Examples—

káḡ , crow	kúḡJ , water-fowl
kric , sand in food	kalkal , quarrel, contaminated with Sk. kalaha-
kaṇī̐ , drop of rain	kāuḡk , partridge
kutkutāṛī , tickling	kurktú , pebbles in cooked pulse
kukkuṛ , cock	kurlá , cry, cf. Sk. kurari, bird
kúrká , pup	kúḡgrá , pup
kiruk , sand	kiḡl , use force, especially when easing oneself
kallá , half dumb	guḡgá , dumb

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guṭuk , giggle	gurḡur , sound of a smoking pipe
gurḡurī , smoking pipe	guttun , ducking
gaṛuk , rumble	hīḡ , bray
ghuṭ , to strangle	ghul , to low
cúce , chicken	cuṭkī , pinch
cuāti , burning wood	cik , scream
cir , crack	cab , chew
cúp , suck	cur , have motion
cicur , parasite	cúrá , powder
cáḡlá , clever	caḡḡ , slap
chik , to pull	chap , to hide
Jhal , foolishness	Jul , to move
ṭuk , cut	ṭaṭīṛī , a bird, Skt. <i>ṭiṭibhah</i>
ṭip , finish account	ṭiṭáḡná , cicada
ṭhap , to fold	ṭhok , to beat
ḡobá , diver	ḡaḡmṇī , stick for washing clothes
ḡeḡmúḡ , black wasp	ḡaṭṭá , cork ; cf. Aw. ḡaṭ , stiffen
ḡikár , belch	bud , drown
tár , have an eye	taṛká , frying
tiṛ , stutter	tutlá , prattle
tráṛá , burning of fresh grain	trát , head-ache
trap , jump ; cf. Sk. $\sqrt{\text{talp-}}$	trúḡ , to give still-birth ; cf. Aw.
	tráiḡ , be terrified
tútṇī , a pipe ; cf. Per. <i>túti</i> , a bird	
trum , snatch	trim , drip
ḡuthró , choking in the	nich , sneeze
wind-pipe	
ḡhaḡn , pond	paṭáká , cracker
pupul , eat with gums only	papíḡá , a bird
pípṇī , a pipe	pīḡ , card (v)
pípá , canister	pad , break, wind
báḡ , call to prayers	botná , young donkey
buṛ-buṛ , bubble	boká , inkpot, bucket
bibri , potsherd	bíḡḡá , cicada
bhāuḡk , to bark	mac , kindle
miákṇá , new	midh , crush
memṇá , humble	riḡḡ , to roll
rṇulá , noise	leḡ , suck milk
lak , lick	lauḡk , throb

və́gárná, challenge
sí, cold
happá, kiss
hiə, be extinguished
huḡár, shout
huph, close
hál-hál, outcry.

shúk, hiss
sítí, whistle
hidki, hiccough
has, laugh
húḡ, grunt
hucká, jolt

VII. 2. Echo-Words

In echo-words the sense of *et cetera* is implied. They are formed in many ways. The simplest and commonest form is that in which initial consonant of the original word is replaced by [sh-]. [sh-], of course, can be used to form an echo of any noun in Awankari. Examples—

páni sháni , water, etc.	hatti shatti , shop, etc.
roti shoti , bread, etc.	rá^ shá^ , way, etc.
dál shál , pulse, etc.	vá shá , wind etc.
koṭhā shoṭhā , room, etc.	ká~ shá~ , crow, etc.
ná~, shá~ , name, etc.	etc., etc.

Another common phenomenon is the interchanging of vowels in the two words. Short vowels are usually echoed by short ones and long vowels to long ones. As a rule any other vowel than [a] or [á], in the original word is echoed by [a] or [á], as the case may be. [a] is changed to [u] and [á] to [ú].

Examples—

báth báth, face, etc. (features)
cher cháṛ, teasing, etc.
ruḡṛ rá^ṛ, play, etc. (enjoyment)
hoṛ háṛ, forbid, etc.
chil chal, skin (v), etc.
chik chak, contract (v), etc.
mar mur, die
báti búti, bucket, etc.
aruk uruk, distilled water, etc.
baghná bughná, rope, etc.
khol khál, open, etc.
páni púni, water, etc.

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roṭī rāṭī, bread, etc.

pūṅ pāṅ, young ones
etc., etc.

More advanced and cultured are the synonymous or almost similar words used to form echoes. They are, in fact, compound words and are not quite meaningless as the echoes.

Examples—

tharā palāṇā, harness (rug and saddle)

cullī krūlī, ablution (mouth cleaning, etc.)

thām pattā, address (place and knowledge)

kuṛī cīṛī, woman-folk (ladies and birds)

dāl cāl, eatables (pulse and rice)

āṅ bāṅ, (limb and arm)

puch partit, enquiry (ask and settle). The word **partit** is now obsolete

ḍāṅgur vacchā, cattle, etc. (cattle and calf)

billī kuttā, animals (cat and dog)

lattā mattā, goods (**lattā**, is obsolete)

ḍerā ḍaggā, concerns (house and ?)

challī pūṇī, small concerns (cotton yarn and ear)

ḍiṇ vār, festival (day and day)

ḍāl ḍāl, welfare (form and character)

ḍhīṅ mushāle, long torches (poles and torches)

ḡṭā vaṭṭā, pebbles, etc. (pebble and stone)

ghāṅ paṭṭhā, fodder (grass and fresh crop)

lōṛāī bhirāī, quarrel (quarrel and bickering)

dhikkā mukkā, fight (push and blow)

raulā gaulā, noise (noise and ?)

nāṅ paccā, address (name and address, **pattā**)

māṇ bhār, honour (respect and heaviness)

ḍhaggi ḍhorī, cattle (P. ḍhaggi and H. ḍhor)

Neither of the words exists singly in Awankari.

hāl cāl, account (account and gait)

āṅ deṅāṅ, these days (today and to-morrow)

luccā lēvannāṅ, a man of loose character (Dera. **livannā**, stupid)

kapṛā lattā, clothes (cloth and ?)

māl mattā, property (goods and wealth)

kāgut pattur, stationary (paper and paper)

- mú^{am} muláJhá**, regard (face and examination)
dhum dhaṣas, pomp and show (onomatopoeic)
ḍbī^ggur dhoṛe, hedges (thorns and thorns)
ciz vasut, purchases (things and things)—a hybrid
mitti gattá, dust (earth and P. ghattá, dust)
kakh káná^m, roof (straw and reeds)
hál pá^ariá, out-cry
dhúr dhappá, dust (dust and ?)
rach káⁿ, instruments, etc. (tool and ?)
hú^m há^m, yes or no (yes, yes)
hissá baxrá, portion (portion and=portion)
hukká páⁿi, sociability (smoking pipe and water)
Já Jəgír, property (place and estate)
gaváḍh matthá, neighbourhood (neighbourhood and forehead. The second word is, of course, useless.)
ḍar Jháká, fear (fear and hesitation)
kúp kassur, deficiency, etc., the word **kúp**, meaning crookedness
xár xu^mduk, jealousy (jealousy and ?)
Játuk potuk, children (child and grandson)
 *The word **potuk** does not exist isolated.
lāiⁿ ketár, line (line and line)
vartuṇ vālevá, goods (utensils and goods)
ṭā^rl ṭəkor, service (service and fomentation)
dāⁿá phakká, corn (corn and catable)
sāⁿdá suluf, purchases
usur kusur, senses. The origin of the words is obscure. Cf.
 Per, ausān, senses.
kam kár, work (work and work)
ḍhok ḍhālle, houses (hamlet and ?).

The fourth group consists of echo-words in which the idea of alliteration and assonance is predominant. The echo-word is, again, meaningless singly.

Examples—

- razi bazi**, hale and healthy
puch guch, enquiry, etc.
idde áde, this way and that
nik shuk, all things (small things, etc.)

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kaṇ maṇ, rain (drop, etc.)

chekaṛ bākaṛ, remainder (end, etc.)

Janā khaṇā, every man

raṇ kaṇ, woman, etc.

neṛe treṛe (-r- being intrusive), nearby.

Sometimes the echo occurs before the meaningful word, as in—

avādh gāvādh, neighbourhood, etc.

āse pāse, all about (sides, etc.)

ār pār, across (otherside, etc.)

āṁṁe sāṁṁe, face to face (front, etc.)

āṛ sāṛ, balance (equality, etc.)

Cf. Aw. **hiksāṛā**, even.

In a number of cases the antonyms are used, as in

sūkḥā sūkḥā, in some way (easily or otherwise)

kac pak, undecided (rawness and firmness)

uccā Jhikkā, uneven (high and low).

VII. 3. Intensive Words

Intensive forms are made generally by repeating the first word with a connective [m-], [mu-] or [p-], [pu-], which may sometimes replace the initial consonant of the former word. Examples—

hikaṛṛā mukaṛṛā, all alone

honer muner, pitch dark

khul makhul, perfect freedom

hikkā mikkā, united

gharī mūrī, again and again

naṅg munaṅgā, stark naked

tetrā metrá, spotted

arū marū, necessarily

ṁḍūrī mṁḍūrī, round like a ball

sacci mucci, very truly, **mucci**, is extended to **kūrī** in

kūrī mucci, falsely

charā mūrā, all alone

ghuc muc, undecipherable writing

hacchā pucchā, very clean

rīs pōrīsī, imitatingly

ukkā pukkā, at all

van pəvanná, of various kind

ras pas, accustomed.

Some words are intensified simply by repetition, as—

bhaJná bhaJná, running

kəreniá~kəreniá~, doing

trikkhi trikkhi, hastily

ca~gá ca~gá, good.

Repeated words are sometimes connected by [-o-].

Examples—

vakh-o-vakh, separately

nakk-o-nak, full to brim

add-o-ad, separately

Δ~J-o-Δ~J, limb by limb

addh-o-vadh, half and half (v- is liaison).

Some echo-words form intensives when used adverbially or adjectively, as

chará chá~d, all alone

mú~ dhián, to one's self

etc.

Synonymous words are regularly used to form intensives.

Examples—

rukkhá sukká, all dry

ṭha~dá ṭhok, quiet

phattá guddá, much wounded

dhi~gí zori, forcibly

dabbá saṭ, quickly

ukká sukká, fully

chap luk, stealthily

raṭá mēdān, quite plain

tassá triháia, very thirsty

ṭu~d mu~d, all broken.

Intensified adjectives are usually formed in

rattá lál, very red (red like diamond)

kálá shá~, jet black (black like ink)

sává kacṛá, very green (green like a drug)

sává kacúr, very green (green like a drug)

miṭṭhá kha~d, very sweet (sweet like sugar)

kaṭṛá zāu~r, extremely bitter (bitter like poison)

phikká go~á, tasteless (tasteless like dung)

ciṭṭá dudh, milky white

nílá cubác, quite blue (blue like?)

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khattá bəṛiṭ, very sour (sour like ?)
patlá pətaṅg, very thin (thin like a kite)
tattá tel, very hot (hot like oil)
ṭhaddá ṭhār, very cold (cold like coldness)
siddhá tīr, quite straight (straight like an arrow)
navvá~ nəkor, blank new (new as an unused thing). The
 word **nəkor** is Aw **korá**; cf. **nəxalus**, for Per. **xáliṣ**.

sukká rəṛaṅg, very dry
sienná pāṇi, very wet (wet as water)
ḍiṅgá phəṛiṅg, very crooked (crooked like ? (onom.))
roḍiṭiṭḍ, clean shaven (shaven like a small pitcher)
ṭhullá sūtur, very thick (thick like yarn).

Note.—The question marks indicate that the words are obscure.

The following are some compound (echo-) words and intensive phrases which are not very regular and which appear to be loans from some dialect in which these formations are common—

rāulá rappá, noise, etc.
bhāṭḍá ṭiṭḍur, utensils, etc.
lag ləveṛ, extra things
xabur adur, news, etc.
bhukkhá bhāṇá, quite hungry
ḍeḍur bheḍur, perplexed
adh-kraddá, half-done
lam-salammaṭ, very long
al phal, quite naked, < Arab. ?
chuṭṭiṭi dhukkiṭi, free
aṭkul paccú, by guess
aṭṭá saṭṭá, by guess
hik kəṛakkiṭi, at once
aṇni mūriṭi, very blind
səveṭ saṭṭe, at par
satte səvele, very early.

VII. 4. Nursery Words

An important class of symbolic sounds is the group of nursery words which, again, are universal like onomatopoeas, but which are interpreted differently in different countries. The child utters

a number of sounds which are given meaning by the listeners. Contamination also takes place in the case of such words. They have no space-time history.

The discovery of nursery-words in each language will be an important contribution to linguistics. Ignorance of such formations has led Dr. Kakti to derive Ass. *áta*, father, from Skt. *átman*, (Formation and Development of Assamese, p. 300). Phonologists have tried to reconstruct Skt. *tátyah* from *tátah*, to justify H., L., P. *cáca*, uncle. It may be noted that Skt. *tátah*, itself is a nursery word.

Compare—

Aw. **pio**, father, Skt. *pitá*, H. *báp*, P. **pe**

Aw. **má**, mother, Skt. *mátá*. H., P. **má**

Aw. **mái**, woman, extended from **má**, for differentiation

Aw. **mámá**, uncle, Skt. *mátulah*, Urdu *mámá*, maid, H. **má** *mú*, uncle

Aw. **mammá**, teat, H. *cucú*, teat

Aw. **bebe**, mother (Hindus), sister (Muslims), H., P. *bíbí*, mother, lady, Eng. baby

Aw. **bhábi**, mother, brother's wife, mother-in-law, Skt. *bhratṛ* + Pers. *bíwí*, P. *bhá*, brother, H. *bí*, lady

Aw. **bábú**, a good boy, H., B., P., *bábu*

Aw. **bíbabá**, a good boy

Aw. **bhápa**, brother

Aw. **bhúá**, father's sister, has absolutely no phonological connection with Skt. *pitṛ-svasá*

Aw. **phupphí**, father's sister

Aw. **happá**, **bhappá**, kiss, Skt. *√hrap-*, *√hlap-*.

The Awankar child has been using his labial sounds in various combinations, which have been allied with most important relatives and other things. Next he learns gutturals and then other sounds and utters a number of combinations, of which the following have been given meanings—

cáca, uncle, father

lálá, father (Hindus), brother (Muslims)

dádá, grand-father, B. *dádá*, elder brother

dádí, grand-mother

káká, child, B. *káká*, uncle

gogá, a small cake of bread

golí, maid

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gogo, tummy, which has extended to **gogur**

maĩ, water

totl, bread

memi, goat

máo, cat

toto, dog

cico, bird

cici, small finger

cická, small cake

gig, eye-wax

gúgá, cup

i, hi, this

u, hú, that

loli, lullaby.

etc., etc.

I think Aw., H., P. **de**, give, H., P. **le**, take, dogri ne, Aw. **khá**, eat, H., P. **Já**, go, Aw. **cá**, lift, **á**, come, **ná**, no, **há**, yes, **hái**, what?, **hallá**, very well, **oe, vai**, O, and such other words are originally nursery words.

5. Sound Symbolism

While dealing with the history of sounds, it has to be remembered that many of the irregular changes, especially in consonants can be explained in the light of psychological reaction of sounds. A particular sound, a definite syllable or a set combination of sounds alone can convey a required idea, feeling or sense. When a word is adopted in any language, its sounds are changed analogically.

In Awankari, for instance [c], as a rule, denotes diminution. [t] and [d], diminution and deformity, and [ch], shelter, [dh] shows force and [d] and [dh] convey violence. Examples—

[c] in **cu^l**, stove **cut**, female private part **cú^á**, mouse

cu^{nná}, short-eyed **baccá**, child **cuccá**, short-eyed

coli, jacket **cup**, select **cukká**, handful

cici, little finger **cug**, perch (v) **copet**, dice

[t] in **tai^{ná}**, dwarf **todá**, young of a cattle **bakrotá**, a young kid
kat. í, a young buffalo

5.

[d] in ḍodá , pod	tradḍá , torn mat	godá , knee
ḍáḍá , strong	ghidḍá , crooked leg- ged	beḍá , stupid
bhodá , bad-faced	ḍadḍá , frog and	
ḍaḡ , bite	ḍak , close	ḍub , drown
ḍár , flock	ḍikár , belch	ḍaskore , sobs
ḍeḡmú , wasp	ḍolá , pitcher	

[dh] in dhím , lump	dhuk , suit, go near	dhól , drum
dhú , buttock	dháḥ , fall	budh.á , old
dhíḍ , tummy, etc., etc.		

Cerebralization of PI. sounds in NIA languages may be due to this fact that they are more suitable to express certain feelings. Aspiration, which is a monopoly of Indo-Aryan languages, may also be due to the same fact.

Examples of [ch] words are—

kach , armpit	much , moustache	chaj , winnowing basket
chat , roof	chat , double sack	chatrí , umbrella
cheje , husks	cháḡ , shade	chole , grams
chúṇí , cover	choldarí , tent	chittur , old shoes
chil , bark	chap , hide	chəkor , basket
cháḡ , foliage.		

Note [dh] in

dhappá , slap	dhabbá , washer-man	dhar , body
dhará , balance, party	dhabúk , wasp	dhamál , a dance
dhar , current	dhá , bathe	dhrak , fall
dhi , daughter	dhiḡgí , forcibly	dhará , attack
dhup , sunshine	dhikká , push	dhúr , dust
dhúṇí , smouldering fire	dhútá , stupid,	etc., etc.

Similarly I find [gh] very suitable for expressing strong emotions of fear, threat, etc. Compare—

ghurkí , threat	ghúrūṇ , cave	ghábur , perplexed
ghaggá , hoarse-voiced	ghará , loss	
gheslá , lazy	ghug.ú , owl	etc., etc.

[r] and [l] are usually used to express delicate feelings. [l] appears to be sweeter and finer than [r]. The change of [r] to [l] and vice versa may be due to the differing capacity of the two sounds

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to convey feelings.

Compare—

rassi, rope

rat, blood

bori, sack

lára, promise

lassi, whey

lat, leg

boli, speech

lobi, lullaby

The formation of onomatopoeic words is an important incidence of sound symbolism.



AGENTS OF CHANGE

VIII

AGENTS OF CHANGE

1. CONTAMINATION.
 - (i) ETYMOLOGICAL.
 - (ii) COMPLEX CONTAMINATION.
 - (iii) UN-ETYMOLOGICAL.
 - (iv) NURSERY WORDS.
 - (v) HYBRIDS.
 - (vi) OBSCURITIES.
2. ANALOGY.
 - (i) VOWELS.
 - (ii) NASALITY.
 - (iii) TONE.
 - (iv) CONSONANTS.
 - (v) GRAMMATICAL FORMS.
3. LOANS.
 - (i) LOANS FROM EASTERN LANGUAGES.
 - (ii) DIALECTICAL MIXTURES.
 - (iii) TATSAMAS AND SEMI-TATSAMAS.
 - (iv) MISCELLANEOUS LOANS.
 - (v) HOMONYMS AND SYNONYMS.
 - (a) HOMONYMS.
 - (b) SYNONYMS.
4. ACCENT.
 - (i) INFLUENCE OF ACCENT.

VIII. I. Contamination

Contamination is a very powerful agent in the development of Awankari language. Many of the unrecognizable forms are explained by removing the confusion of words which has effected the new forms. As the subject may be of great interest to linguists and comparative philologists, I shall venture to give an extensive view of the phenomenon in the dialect.

VIII. 1. 1. Etymological

Let us first take up the contamination of words etymologically connected.

Simple contamination may be noted in—

Aw. **khaṭ**, dig, < Skt. *khaṭṭ*-, and *skud*-, P. **khut**

Aw. **ciṛ**, **cher**, < Skt. *ceṣṭ*-, *kṣveḍ*

Aw. **cuṇ**, pick, select, < Skt. *cinoti*, *cunṭati*

Aw. **taṅg**, leg, < Skt. *taṅgam*, < *tag* and *taṁs*-, to hang

Aw. **ḍhaī**, be given, Passive from Aw. **de**, give, contaminated with Southern Lahndi **ḍe**, give.

In Aw. **māiḍhā**, mine, [**ai**] is the result of contamination of Ap. *maham*, and *maī*-, (Acc. & Ins.). See Pischel, P. 299. [**ai**] in Aw. **taīḍhā**, yours, is similarly come out of vowels in Ap. *taī* (Instr.) and Māgadhi *tuham*, *tuhidd* (gen.).

[**ā**] in Aw. **tudhā**-, to you, has resulted from *tuham* < Skt. *tvatnam*, and *tudhra*, *tujjha* (Pischel p. 296).

Aw. **khenú**, ball, < Skt. *kandukah*, and *khelā*

Aw. **Jhutti**, pounce, snatch, < Sk. *jhaṭṭa* and *jhuṇṭa*, current

Aw. **vith**, span, space, < Skt. *vitastih*, and *hastah*

Aw. **laṭh**, staff, < Skt. *yaṣṭih* and *lakuṭa*-

Aw. **riś**, imitation, < Skt. *irṣyā* and *riṣ*-?

Aw. **Juṛā**, knot of hair, < Skt. *cūḍā* and *jaṭā*

Aw. **kúrkā**, pup, < Skt. *kurkuraḥ* and onom. *kúr-kúr*

Aw. **ḍúghā**, deep, < Skt. *gádhaḥ* and *gúḍhaḥ*

Aw. **kuJh**, some, < Skt. *kim̐cit*- and *kaṣcid*

Vide Chatterjee §. 589. Reshi **kijh**, is purely connected with the original word.

Aw. **əṛuṅg**, tuck (v), < Aw. **ṛṭ**, and **ṭuṅg**

- Aw. **giṭār**, stony ground, < Aw. **giṭá**, and **gār**
 < Skt. **guṭiká**, pebble, and Pk. **gára**, stone-
- Aw. **guggá**, snake, **gogur**, tummy, and **gúgá**, cup, are extensions from Skt. **golaḥ** and **gavate**, goes
- Aw. **huph**, close, < Skt. **uṣma**, or **váspa** and onom. **uph**, Per. **uf**
- Aw. **māgetur**, bride or bridegroom-elect, as **māg**, asking, plus contaminated **kitá**, done
- sákh**, in Aw. **vattursákh**, 'vegetable, < Skt. **patra** + **shákhá** and **sháka**.
- Aw. **ejhá**, like this, may be compared with Aw. **e'á-Je'á**, < Skt. **ídṛsha-**, **yádṛsha-**, Pk. **ís** and **jáais**?
- Aw. **nimo Jháṇá**, despaired, < Skt. **namra-dhyánaḥ** and **nimúr-dhanaḥ** + **akaḥ**
- Aw. **ubāt**, vomit, < Skt. **ud-vam-** (**vanta-**) and **ud-vartanam**
- Aw. **khus**, tear, snatch, < Skt. **kuṣṇāti** and **skoṣati**
- Aw. **kaṭṛ**, boil, < Skt. **kvath-** and **kath-**
- Aw. **gudh**, coil, < Skt. **gunth-** and **gudh-**
- Aw. **ghus**, miss, < Skt. **kuṣṇāti** and **ghṛṣati**
- Aw. **cakh**, taste, < Skt. **caṣ-**, **jakṣh-** direct from Pk. **cakkhai**, tastes
- Aw. **chil**, skin (v), < Skt. **chid-** and **kṣvil-**
- Aw. **Jhur**, fret and foam, < Skt. **jhr-**, **jvar-** Pk. **jurai**
- Aw. **nim**, bow (v), < Skt. **nam-** and **nipat-**
- Aw. **phaṛuk**, flutter, < Skt. **sphaṭ-** and **sphur-**
- Aw. **vālhet**, wrap, < Skt. **vall-**, and **samvest-**
- Aw. **vīṭ**, fall, < Skt. **vi-**, and **viṭ-**
- Aw. **siJ**, be wet, < Skt. **sin̄cati** and **abhyān̄jate**, cf. P. **bhiJ**
- Aw. **khudhur**, ravine, < Skt. **skandhádara** and **kandarā**
- Aw. **ghamusur**, close, < Skt. **gharma-** and **uṣman-** + extensional suffix.

We get explanation of aspiration in Aw. **gá'l**, abuse, < Skt. **gáli** and Skt. **garhá**, censure, **galha**.

[-u] in Aw. **mákhú**, honey, < Skt. **mákṣika-** and **madhu-**.

Aspiration in **ughur**, raise, < Skt. **udgurate**, lifts, which has contaminated with Skt. **udghataḥ**, raising.

[-i] in Aw. **picche**, behind, < Skt. **pasca-** and Skt. **piccham**, tail-feather, or **pr̥ṣṭha-**, back.

[-b] in Aw. **ballun**, to burn, < Skt. **jvalati** and **dyotate**.

Aw. onomatopoeic **dikár**, belch, has resulted due to contamination with Skt. **udgára-**

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- Aw. **pagharuṇ**, to melt, < Skt. pragalati, drips, and pragharati.
 Aw. **kriṇ**, a thorny tree, < Skt. karīra- and kariṣa-
 Aw. **khappi**, noisy, < Skt. kandarpika and onomatopoeic kh-kh-
 Aw. **kankol**, or **kankuruṇ**, a centipede, < Skt. karkoṭa- and karkaṇa-, ear
 Aw. **nikká**, small, < Skt. nyak- and nica-
 Aw. **ná**, no, < Skt. na, and nahi
 Aw. **haṭ**, be away, < Skt. hata- and aṭ
 Aw. **sudh**, be fixed up, < Skt. shudhyati and bodhati, cf. Aw. **soJh**, **boJh**, know
 Aw. **vápur**, befall, < Skt. vyáprta-, and vyápára-
 Aw. **miṇ**, measure, < Skt. √mā and minoti
 Aw. **miJh**, marrow, < Skt. majjá and mṛdhyate
 Aw. **dhuákh**, be smoked, < Skt. dhūmáyate and dhukṣate
 Aw. **triṇá**, threefold, < Skt. triguṇaḥ and trīni.

VIII. 1. ii. Complex Contamination

Complex contamination is not quite common in Awankari. The following instances may be given—

- Aw. **ad**, open, < Skt. ad-, add-, and ad-, to eat
 Aw. **cith**, grind, < Skt. cṛts-, kṣipta-, and chid-
 Aw. **Jhas**, rub well, < Skt. dhams-, dhras- and gharṣ-, and direct from Pk. jhasia, thrown up
 Aw. **kheḍ**, play, < Skt. kṛd-, kel-, and khelá, also khet, Turner's kṣvelati
 Aw. **lik**, line, < Skt. rekhá, likh-, and Deshi lakir
 Aw. **guṇḍuq**, to coil and **guṇṇun**, to knead, < Skt. gumphati, grathnāti and bandhati
 Aw. **bhālṭávuṇ**, to go astray, < Skt. bhramati contaminated with Aw. **bhul**, forget, and H. palṭá
 Aw. **dhəbúk**, **dhəbúṛi**, wasp, < Skt. daṁsha-, bhṛṅga- and onomatopoeic (cf. **dhappá**, blow) extension
 Aw. **nap**, capture, < Skt. nāpyate, naptá and Pk. nappai, grasps
 Aw. **dhīḡgur**, thorny hedge, < Skt. dirgha- and Aw. **dhīḡgá**, pole, **ḍhaḡgá**, noose, and **ḍáḡg**, stick.

VIII. 1. iii. Un-etymological

Sometimes two words having little or absolutely no etymological relationship are confused, or etymology has been misunderstood and folk-etymology has brought about new forms. There is, indeed, psychological connection between them. A number of them appear to be syncopated compound words. Examples—

- Aw. **ṭak**, cut, < Skt. takṣ-, to cut, and tark-, to question, Pk. taṅkia
 Aw. **kor**, who, < Skt. ko-aparah
 Aw. **caḍṛá**, naughty, < Skt. caṇḍaḥ and candraḥ
 Aw. **káḷá**, impatient, < Skt. kalaha, quarrel, and ákula, perturbed
 Aw. **háṇí**, of same age, < Pk. ádhí, < Skt. ardha-, near, and Skt. háyana, year
 Aw. **cúpuṇ**, to suck, < Skt. cúṣati, sucks, and capayati, pounds, Cf. H. cilsná
 Aw. **cháṇ**, sieve (v.), < Skt. kṣálayati, washes, kṣaṇoti, breaks, Contamination had already worked in Pk. chaṇai
 Aw. **pug**, be finished, < Skt. pūryate, and gavate, goes,—Doublet with Aw. **puJ**, suit
 Aw. **phrol**, poke, < Aw. **pher**, move, and **rol**, turn
 Aw. **hiṛ**, stiffening of penis, < Skt. hiṇḍate, wanders, and Aw. **ar**, entangle
 Aw. **hochá**, mean, < Skt. autsa-, shallow, and tucchakaḥ, small
 Aw. **tetrá**, spotted, < Skt. citrakaḥ, tiger, and tittaraḥ, partridge
 Aw. **habhá**, all, < Skt. sarva- and sabhá, cf. Chatterjee p. 440
 Aw. **paváḍ**, lower side of bed-stead, < Skt. pādānīa- and Aw. **pává**, leg
 Aw. **siráḍú**, pillow, < Skt. shirasthána and shira-ante, cf. Aw. **siráḍ**, upper side of a bed-stead
 Aw. **cháí**, ash, < Skt. kṣára- and cháyá
 Aw. **baghṇá**, churning rope, < Skt. valgu- and √vakh, to move
 Aw. **uṇ**, weave, < Skt. √vun- to weave, and ūṇa, wool
 Aw. **vakhrá**, separate, < Skt. pakṣa- and vakṣas, chest, + extension
 Aw. **saJJá**, right, < Skt. savyaḥ and sadyaḥ, fresh
 Aw. **khabbá**, left, < Skt. kharvaḥ and savyaḥ
 Aw. **polá**, soft, < Skt. pallava- and pulkita-
 Aw. **bhiṭṭuṇ**, to get polluted, < Skt. viṣṭá- and bhraṣṭa-
 Aw. **nirá**, entire, < Skt. nitrām and nirataḥ, engrossed.

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VIII. 1. iv. Nursery Words

Almost all nursery words are the result of contamination of child's speech and the original sounds. Compare, for instance, the labial sounds of the child and their semantic contamination with native words.

Aw. **bhūā**, father's sister, and Skt. **vadhukā**

Aw. *mā*, mother, and Skt. *mātā*

Aw. **mámá'**, uncle, and Skt. **mátulah**

Aw. *cáca*, *taia*, *kaka*, and Skt. *tatah*

Aw. lálá, father, H. lallá, Skt. láláyate

Aw. **phupphī**, father's sister, and Skt. *pitr-svasā*

Aw. **bhirá**, or **bhápá**, brother, and Ski. **bhratá**

etc., etc.

VIII. 1. v. Hybrids

Hybrids may also be included in this class, as for example—

Aw. **guth**, corner, — Skt. *kūṭh*, *koṣṭha* and Per. *goshah*, corner

Aw. **tē'dūr**, oven, — Skt. tandu- and Per. tanūr

Aw. **sāvā**, green, — Skt. *shyāmah*, or *shāka* and Per. *sabz*, green

Aw. **páskú**, a make-weight, — Skt. *pāśāna*-, stone, and Per. *pāsang*, balance

Aw. **phəkṛe**, pieces of curd, — Aw. **phit**, be sour, and H. **tukṛe**,
pieces

Aw. tra^hgur, a netted sack, — Skt. $\sqrt{\text{tan}}$ -, H. tága and Per. tang

Aw. **dregur**, a sandy bed, — Skt. dagdha- and Per. reg, sand

Aw. **má'dá**, seriously ill, — Skt. *manda*, Per. *mánd*, dim

Aw. mam̃t̃i, turret, — Per. bām, roof and Sk?

Aw, **bukul**, scarf, — Skt. *valkala* and Per. *bugcah*.

VIII. 1. vi. Obscurities

The following forms also appear to have arisen by the influence of contamination which is not exactly traceable for absence of links.

Aw. **kúlá**, soft, — Skt. *komalah*

Aw. **vák**, unity, — Skt. aikyam and perhaps *vák*.

- Aw. **pāṇḍā**, distance, — Skt. *pantha-*, way, cf. L. **paṇḍh**, distance
 Aw. **kāuṛ**, anger, — Skt. *krodha-* and semantic contamination of
kaṭukaḥ, Aw. **kāuṛā**, bitter
 Aw. **kachi**, drawers, — Skt. *kakṣa-*, armpit, Pk. *kañci*
 Aw. **valgat**, way, — Skt. *√val*
 Aw. **māṛā**, bad, — Skt. *manda-* and *mala* and?
 Aw. **ḍorā**, deaf, — Skt. *vadhira-*
 Aw. **alambā**, spark, — Skt. *ālātā*, Pk. *ālāya*, also H. *lapalapāti*
 Aw. **drokhā**, lamp-stand, — Skt. *dīparakṣakaḥ*

VIII. 2. Analogy

Analogy has always been recognised as to some extent an agent in speech-change, but it is only within the last few years that the wideness of the principle has been recognized. Curtius (quoted by Taraporewala, p. 184) states that 'analogical formations seem to me probable in recent periods only.' Dr. Ghate in his learned article on Analogy in Sanskrit, in Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, has clearly shown that such changes have been wide and copious even in OIA. Assimilation of a large number of declensions, conjugations, indeclinables and other grammatical forms in Prakrit has been due to analogy.

VIII. 2. i. Vowels

In Awankari many an unexpected change is clear in the light of analogy. For instance—

[ā]

1. The masculine termination **-ā** < Skt. *-akaḥ* has been extended analogically in a large number of nouns, adjectives and even verbs which agree in gender with the subject. For examples—

Aw. haṇārā , darkness	doṭtrā , daughter's son
hikallā , alone	doṭrā , double
ānā , he comes	aiā , came
	etc.

2. So also Fem. **[-ī]** < Skt. *-ikā*, as in
honerī, storm **doṭtrī**, daughter's daughter

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hikallí, alone**ání**, she comes**do'rí**, double**ái**, came

etc.

3. (a) **vṛddhi**, in Aw. **rákhá**, protector, has been effected by the analogy of Skt. **pácakaḥ**. So also in **ájí**, shepherd, from **ájjuḥ**, flock, **á'gá**, vaccinator, from **á'guṇ**, to vaccinate, and other forms.

(b) **Vṛddhi** in adjectival forms like Aw. **májhá**, from **májh**, buffalo, **bákrá**, from **bakrí**, goat, is a similar influence of analogy of **vṛddhi** in Skt. **gáṅgam payaḥ**.

(c) **Vṛddhi** formations of the following types are also analogical—

vádhá, increase (n), from **vadh**, grow; **ghátá**, loss from **ghat**, lessen.

4. Turner speaks of the [á] of Gujrati **vád**, hedge, as an analogical formation from Pk. **vaṭa-**, < Skt. **vṛta-**, so the [á] of Awan. in **váf**, hedge.

5. Awan. [á] from Pk. [a] in **kāresá**, I shall do, Pali, **karissam**, and **hosá**, I shall be, Pk. **hossam**, seems to be due to analogy from the present tense in Ap. **jāṇau**.

[i]

6. [-i] in Awan. **ti**, and **Ji**, that, presents an interesting illustration of the influence of analogy from Per. **kih**, that.

7. [-i-] in Aw. **nikká**, small, **Jhikká**, low, is analogically formed as in **phikká**, tasteless, **mitṭhá**, sweet, etc.

[í]

8. In words like **kí**, what, and **Jí**, whatever, [í] has to be explained as being due to analogy from **í**, **hí**, this.

9. In **kadí**, when, [í] is analogical to that in Skt. **yadi**, if.

10. [í] in Aw. **suṇí va**, go hearing, **ákhí á**, come saying, etc. is from Pk. forms like **karia**, < Skt. **kṛtvá**.

[u]

11. [u] in **cuṇ**, select, is perhaps due to the analogy of **suṇ**, hear.

On the analogy of Skt. **√shubh**, **kṣobh**, cud, cod, cur, cor, etc. are formed Aw. intransitive bases like **ghul**, blow, melt, **khul**, open, **cupuḥ**, get besmeared, **thuḥ**, lessen, etc.

[-ú]

12. [-ú] in Aw. **mákhú**, honey, **sáú** (**sádhu**), gentleman, **kháú**, eater, **sarú**, jealous, **sirá'dú**, pillow, and a large number of other

words listed in I. 1. ii. appear to be analogical from Skt. madhu-

[o]

13. Compare with No. (11), above, the following forms which again are analogical. Some indeed, had been worked out in late Sanskrit. Compare Skt. tulayati and tolayati, Skt. $\sqrt{\text{lu}}$ -, $\sqrt{\text{lo}}$ -, etc. and Pk. ukkhaḍai and akkhaḍai, < Skt. utkhaṭati.

Aw. ghuṭ , be pressed	ghoṭ , press
khus , be snatched	kho , snatch
juṭ , be joined	joṭ , join
tuk , cut	tok , check
bud , be drowned	boṭ , dip
chuṭ , be released	choṭ , leave.

[-ṭ] further shows that the latter forms are more recent.

14. The same analogical guṇa is used to form nouns, as

Aw. soJhā , care, < Skt. shudhyate
dodhī , milk-seller, < Skt. dugdha-

[e]

15. On the analogy of loc. termination -e, as in Aw. **ghare**, in the house, have been formed such words as **katthe**, where, **idde**, here, **udde**, there, etc. A similar working of analogy is seen in the case of **neṛe**, near, **agge**, before, **ure**, this side, **pare**, on that side, **iṅJe**, like this, **uṅJe**, like that, etc.

Also note [e] in **ke**, what, **Je**, that, on the model of **e**, or **e**, this, < Skt. etad-, eṣa-.

[ā]

16. On page 337 (Gujrati Phonology), Turner points out that the [ā] of Gujrati **vāṇ**, word, < vacana > Pk. vaṇa-, is due to the influence of Jain Prakrit, otherwise it would, as original tadhbhava, have appeared as **vān** (Pischel §. 187). The same is true of Awan. **vāṇ**, mourning utterances, **cāṇā**, broad, and other words (see III. 4. ii) in which [ā] has come from [á + á] due to analogy from Jain Prakrit.

[ā] in **tāiḍhā**, yours, is analogical from Aw. **māiḍhā** (**māi** + **dhā**), mine. Compare Reshi **toḍhā** which is, of course, older Pkt. tuham-dhā.

[ā] in **kāi**, who, is formed on the model of **māi**, I.

VIII. 2. ii. Nasality

17. Nasality in **kāĩ**, who, **taĩḍhā**, yours, is analogical. What we call 'spontaneous nasalization', may be the effect of analogy. For such words see IV. 2.

It is now a common-place fact that final nasalization in feminine forms like **sītāĩ**, **sumitrāĩ**, is due to the influence of Skt. -āni < Ap. -ā. This nasality in final position has, perhaps, extended to other forms.

In **treṭh**, sixty-three, **cauṭh**, sixty-four, **chialṭh**, sixty-six, **setalṭh**, sixty-seven, nasality is in harmony with the nasal sound in **palṭh**, sixty-five, < Skt. pañca-ṣaṣṭi.

Similarly, nasalization in **sentāĩ**, forty-seven, **cauṭrĩ**, thirty-four, and **teṭrĩ**, thirty-three, is analogical.

Nasality in Aw. **Jĩ**, as, is in harmony with that in Aw. **kĩ**, how, < Skt. kim.

The reverse tendency of denasalization appears to me to be analogical, as in Skt. gunth-, guth-.

Aw. **madhāĩ**, churning stick, **kaghĩ**, comb, and other examples may be examined in IV. 3.

VIII. 2. iii. Tone

18. In some words tone is analogical, as in Aw. **ubā'ḷ**, haste, P. **kā'ḷ**, Aw. **gā'ḷĩ**, H. P., **gālĩ**, abuse. It is just possible that analogy has worked in what we have called "spontaneous aspiration".

VIII. 2. iv. Consonants

19. Many a sporadic preservation of Pl. consonants in Awan-kari may possibly be due to the agency of analogy, as [s] in **has**, laugh, < Skt. hasati, [p] in **oprá**, strange, as in P. **uppur**, above, < Skt. upari.

ḍ > [l] in Aw. **Ja'ḷlā**, stupid, < Skt. jaḍa, is probably due to analogy from **bhallā**, good, < Skt. bhadra-, bhadla-.

It may be possible one day to explain many a phonological obscurity through a thorough study and application of analogy.

VIII. 2. v. Grammatical forms

20. Quite a large number of grammatical forms have been smoothed down in Awankari under the influence of analogy. For examples—

(a) Formation of nouns on the model of Skt. *ekalya*, loneliness, *drādhya*, firmness, are formed Aw. **pak**, confirmity (Skt. *pakva-*), **naṅg**, nudity (Skt. *nagna-*), etc.

(b) The following transitive forms are analogical—

Aw. **nitur**, from **nitār**, Pk. *nitthārai*

nibuṛ, from **nəber**, Skt. *nirvartate*, *nī-√vad-*

nicuṛ, from **nicor**, Pk. *niccuḍai*, Sk. *niṣcotate*

uJuṛ, from **uJār**, Skt. *ud-jātā* ?

Note how penultimate vowels in the intransitive form have been smoothed down.

(c) The causative form for transitive is analogical on the model of **apṛāinā**, causes to reach, < *-āpayati* forms, as in

vartāinā, distributes

kalpāinā, worries

khiṇḍāinā, scatters.

21. Analogy has worked regularly in the formation of many suffixes in Awankari.

[**-iār**] < *kāra*, is analogical in such words as **khiḍiār**, player.

The feminine affix [**-āni**] has come by analogy in Aw. **niāni**, wife of a barber, H. *nāin*, Aw. **bhiāni**, wife of a Bhai (a caste).

bhəṇvāt, wanderer, is formed on the model of Skt. *vācāṭa-*.

22. Analogy may be noted in the formation of the following antonyms—

saukhā, easy, < Skt. *saukhyam*,—**saukhā**, difficult

Jāṇī, member of a bridegroom's party, < Skt. *janyā-*,—

māṇī, member of bride's party

pār, that side across, < Skt. *pāra*,—**urār**, this side

suthrā, tidy, < Skt. *svastha-*, *sthira*,—**kothrā**, untidy

asmattur, like us, < Skt. *asmat*,—**tusmattur**, like you

Jitthe, where, < Pk. *jettha*,—**kitthe**, where; Reshi **katthe**, is regular

kitṇā, how much, < Pa. *kittaka*,—**Jitṇā**, as much,—**itṇā**, so

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much

sam̐re, father-in-law's house, < shvashura-,—**peke**, father's house

putrete, men on the boy's side,—**dhete**, men on the girl's side.

23. Harmony is kept in the formation of
Aw. **Jadduṇ**, when, **kadduṇ**, when, and **tadduṇ**, then, < Skt. tadānim

Aw. **Jikuṇ**, as, **kikuṇ**, how, **tikuṇ**, upto

Aw. **Ji've**, as, **kive**, how, **hive**, this way

Aw. **Jitvā**, **kitvā**, in which order, **utvā**, in that order, and other pronominal derivatives.

VIII. 3. Loans

Loans from Arabic, Persian, Turkish and English have been dealt with separately. Below are given loan-words from other contemporary spoken Indian languages and dialectical mixtures which exist in doublets. Loans from Sanskrit and Pali (i.e., tatsamas and semitatsamas) will also be considered.

VIII. 3. i. Loans from Eastern Languages

1. Words containing long vowels from Skt., Pk. short vowels have been borrowed from eastern IA languages. Compare—

[ā] in

Aw. **khātā**, account, < Skt. kṣatram, administration, Pk. khattam, estate

Aw. **curāṇve**, ninetyfour, < Skt. catur-navati, Pk. cauṇaum

Aw. **hāḍī**, < haṇḍā, kettle

Aw. **dāḥ**, grinding teeth, < Skt. daṁṣṭra-

Aw. **dhágá**, thread, < Pk. tagga-, gold-thread

Aw. **vág**, rein, < Skt. valgu-

Aw. **ákuṛ**, boast, < Pk. akkaḍ-

Aw. **utrāḥ**, rope, < Skt. uttara-rajjuh

[i] in

Aw. **jibh**, tongue, Skt. *jihvá*, Pk. *jibbha*Aw. **nīdur**, sleep, < Skt. *nīdrá*, Multani **ninder**Aw. **lik**, line, < Skt. *likh-*Aw. **agīthī**, fire place, < Skt. *agniṣṭhiká*, Apa. *aggiṭṭho*Aw. **tílá**, straw, < Skt. *ṭṛṇa-*, but H. *tinká*, is not clear.

[ú] in

Aw. **úgh**, drowse, < Skt. *uṅkhati*, although denasalization in AwankariAw. **Júth**, leavings, < Skt. *ṛuṣṭa*, Pk. *juṭṭha*, unless it is nominal VṛddhiAw. **dhúḍ**, search, < Pk. *ḍhunḍhullai*. Here also denasalization is an Awankari characteristic.Aw. **aḡgúth**, thumb, < Skt. *aṅguṣṭha-*, Pk. *angutṭha-*Aw. **lúlá**, decrepit, < Skt. *√lul*, and *lunati*. It may be an onomatopoeic word.Aw. **Jhúṭá**, swing, < Skt. *jhuṇṭah*Aw. **cúḍuṇ**, to pluck, < Skt. *cunṭati*.

Almost all these words have also received Awankari stamps. They are semi-loans.

2. Words containing [b] from PI. [v] are probably loans. The number of such words is quite large, though the real tendency of the dialect is to preserve [v]. I am, however, constrained to believe that the twofold treatment of PI. [v] has existed in the dialect since MI, mainly to avoid confusion and chaos in sounds. Compare the following doublets—

Aw. vacchá , calf	baccá , child
vaJ , blow (v)	baJ , injury
vau , drive	bau , sit
vaṛí , lump of pulse	baṛí , big

etc.

It appears that the influence of Punjabi has been predominant. Compare—

Aw. baddul , cloud, < Pk. <i>vaddala-</i>
Aw. bəṭerá , quail, < Skt. <i>vartakāḥ</i> , Pk. <i>vaṭṭaya-</i>
Aw. bāuṛí , wife, < Skt. <i>vadhū-</i>
Aw. boṛ , banyan tree, < Skt. <i>vaṭa-</i> , Pk. <i>vaḍa-</i>

3. The consonant group [tr] is regularly preserved in the dialect. The words in which it has been modified into [tt] or [ʈʈ] are doubtlessly loans from the east. Examples—

Aw. **tummon**, to card cotton, < Skt. *trumpati*
Aw. **cittā**, white, < Skt. *citrakah*.

Aw. **ka^hthi**, necklace, < Pk. kanthia
 Aw. **ja^hgh**, leg, < Skt. jaṅghā
 Aw. **re^hdhi**, a melon, < Skt. ?
 Aw. **sarba^hdhi**, relative, < Skt. sambandhin
 Aw. **sá^hJhá**, common, < Skt. sánsha-

cambá, jasmine, < Skt. campakah
dumbá, lamb, < late Skt. dumbakah.

[Note—It may be remembered that loan-words from Hindi are more common in Punjabi than in Lahndi dialects].

VIII. 3. ii. Dialectical Mixtures

Aw. makhá~, makhá, makhe, I say
Aw. bojhá, Jobhá, Jebhá, pocket
Aw. bíJo, búJo, she-monkey

- Aw. **hənerá, hənára, ənhára**, darkness
 Aw. **dẽ, deõ**, sun
 Aw. **dívut, dīut**, wick
 Aw. **bái, bá^{vi}**, twenty-two
 Aw. **sáda, sídda, addá**, "our
 Aw. **saĩ, saū̃**, sleep
 Aw. **tuddá, tusiddá, tusáda**, your
 Aw. **kittí, kitte**, how many
 Aw. **sí, sí̃**, winter
 Aw. **ətvár, ətar, itvár**, Sunday
 Aw. **ákhná, á^{na}**, says
 Aw. **kade, kidde**, whither
 Aw. **katthe, kitthe, kutthe**, where
 Aw. **han, han**, now
 Aw. **caul, cávul**, rice
 Aw. **ha^{Jh}á, athrú**, tear
 Aw. **golí, go^{ri}**, tablet
 Aw. **thaũ, thá^u**, bottom
 Aw. **miJh, miJ**, marrow
 Aw. **Jəvátá, Jəváí**, son-in-law
 Aw. **rəcháñí, rachváñí**, tool-box
 Aw. **nərel, nəlger**, cocoanut
 Aw. **ətháth, ətháith**, sixty eight
 Aw. **naū̃, nĩ^o**, nail
 Aw. **ver, vár**, turn
 Aw. **shábá, shábush**, bravo
 Aw. **pəseo, pəse**, perspiration
 Aw. **sí^{Jh}átá, síhátá**, recognized
 Aw. **sabho, habho**, all
 Aw. **khəvíná, khəJíná**, is eaten
 Aw. **ke, kí**, what
 Aw. **bhajjá, bhanná**, broken
 Aw. **baddhá, baⁿⁿá**, tied
 Aw. **paĩ^r, pá^r, pāũ^r**, part of time
 Aw. **do, dõ**, two
 Aw. **kuJh, kiJh**, some
 Aw. **nañ, niáñí, niháñí**, barber's wife
 Aw. **əgá̃, əgá^e**, further
 Aw. **álá, Jálá**, niche etc., etc.

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Note—Often it is difficult to distinguish these phonetic doublets. Only a complete study of all Lahndi dialects can enable us to say what words are specifically Awankari and what others are loans.

The following are some of the most recent loans in Wanaḍhī from Dhanoci which lies on the way of our communication, Chakwal (the centre of the Dhanoci tract) being the nearest railway station.

Aw. **á~dá**, brought

Aw. **ákhná~**, I say, Reshi **əkhəná~**

Aw. **iná~dí**, theirs, Reshi **í~aná~ní~**

Aw. **siá, siáí**, was.

The low rising tone is also a new loan found in just a few words in the speech of certain individuals.

VIII. 3. iii. Tatsamas and Semi-tatsamas

The tatsama element in Awankari is conspicuous by its absence. Hindus have now begun to adopt Sanskritized names such as **Jagdīsh, mahendār, suresh, shāntí, sumitrá, shílá~**, etc. But it is still difficult for non-Hindus and even old Hindu women to pronounce such names properly. Religious terms such as **sa~dhíá, sádhú, pújá, páth, ved, murtí**, etc. are, of course, inherited tatsama words and confined to Hindus only.

Semi-tatsamas have also religious connection. Compare—

Jogí, Yogin

bhugut, dead, < bhukta-

pakh, fortnight

purmáshí, full-moon day

catartí, 4th day

mésán, cremation ground

ishná~n, bath

varut, fast

séráp, curse, < shápa-

naruk, hell

etc.,

osis, blessing, < Váshis-

sirádh, a ceremony connected with spirits

əmasiá~, new-moon day

ikástí, 11th day

kiriá~, funeral ceremony

pun, virtue

bhág, fate

sucum, purity, < shaucyam-

surug, heavens

Jún, birth, < yonih-

etc.

It is a general fact that religious terms are preserved tenaciously and devotedly. They remain unaffected by phonological changes.

Some common words used by Hindus as well as Muslims in

Awankari are apparently semi-tatsamas, the exact reasons for their immunity from change being unknown. Differentiation from other words may be one.

Examples—

turut , at once	agás , sky
rassá , soup	ás , hope
Játuk , child, < jataḥ	ásrá , support
nit , daily	vis , poison
álá , niche, < ālaya-	vapár , trade
sufná , dream	sur , tune
satt , essence, power, < sattva-, cf. sac , truth.	hath , perseverance

The above may be compared with words listed as 'preserved' in I. 4. or with those in which phonological development was retarded. (see III. 1.)

VIII. 3. iv. Miscellaneous loans

It has already been mentioned that Awankari vocabulary is not very rich and it has to depend on Punjabi and Hindustani. Education, communication and fondness for "foreign" element is bringing in new things and new names, some of which have become naturalized. Examples—

dhágá , thread, Pk, tagga, gold-thread	
kankaúá , kite	sahāli , female friend
marial , dead-like	hī̃j, ĩj , in this way
sarbat , all, < sarvatra.	

VIII. 3. v. Homonyms and Synonyms

As the result of various phonological influences, loans and dialectical variations, Awankari has come to possess a large number of homonyms and synonyms some of which must disappear sooner or later. Some of them will survive if by semantic or phonetic narrowing or extension they stand as individuals. Those words also that cannot be confused in a context have a chance to stay.

Some specific examples are given below—

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VIII. 3. v(a). Homonyms

gá ^{ne} , mortgage, ornaments	ghátá, thick, loss
ál, nickname, habit, a gourd-like vegetable creeper	
go ^{ri} , cotton ball, tablet	hagná, can, eases himself
há [~] , yes, heart	ár, like, awl
ubharná, east, rising, boils	uth, stand, camel
ba ⁿ , tie, pond	has, laugh, collarbone
Ja ^{dri} , padlock, ass-pannier	Jálá, niche, cobweb, soot
Jor, join, joint, affection, total	berí, boat, fetters
báki, balance, land-tax	bolí, speech, pebble
Jhal, madness, blow	bhá, rate, fire, to like
kac, glass, unripeness	bhussá, pale, sandstone
cá, fondness, raise	cánní, canopy, moonlight, an ornament
kakkur, frost, thong	kaní, drop, hard rice
kas, fever, ravine, tighten.	kassí, rivulet, less, motion
cúra, cairn, powder	ko [^] , 1 1/2 mile, kill
kaml, word, cup	khal, stay, skin, oil-cake
khappá, hole, vexed	cukká, handful, settled
khattá, sour, sour milk, a lemon, dug.	
<i>Note</i> —Already the PP. form is assuming a glide before final [á], as khappiá, khattiá, etc.	
de ^á , yesterday, tomorrow	da ^{di} , precipice, teeth
cháí, ashes, black spots on face	lat, leg, bad habit
dhar, body, party	dolí, a pot, litter
dhádhi, bard, bonfire	lât, flame, tail, lord
ma ^{dur} , charm, temple	ma [~] , me, a month, a pulse
ma ^l , rope, sitting room	má ^{ri} , bad, lofty house
muhár, rent, nose-rope	mo ^{ra} , village, goods
nakká, high bank, eye of a needle	nallá, nose, reed
nár, stubble, vein, pain	patthá, young kid, straw
pat, thigh, beam, dig up	pásá, gold, side
pí ^{ri} , generation, a seat	pír, to harness, pain
piplí, pepper, eye-lash	sajjá, fresh, right, decorated

sá[^], hare, breath
 rassá, rope, gravy
 sittá, ear, speculation
 ta[^]g, girth, narrow
 ak, tired, acia tree

sá[^]g, fancy dress, spear
 pinní[^], shin, ball
 trakrī, balance, strong
 vā[^]rā, sheepfold, cotton
 aḍḍā, our, heel, opened.

VIII. 3. v(b). Synonyms

Aw. á[^]gun, ár, like
 anī, kaḍḍhá, bank
 nhá, dhá, bathe
 bá[^]rī, tá[^]kī, window
 bakki, Japphi, wrestling
 bí[^]rā, gudám, baṭṭuṇ,
 button
 gocri, Jogá, for
 cu[^]ḍ, guṭh, corner
 cokhá, ba[^]u[^], much
 trīmut, ku[^]rī, bāuṭṭī, zāl, zanānī, ran, wife
 gabhrá, xasum, khā[^]ḍ, muṇus, husband
 vijá[^], ká[^]j, marriage
 ḍhakki, paddhi, steep
 ḍá[^], ghat, place
 kas, tap, buxár, fever
 Játuk, cho[^]r, naḍhá, boy
 to[^]re, bhá[^]ve[^], although
 kol, ná[^]l, near
 paṭ, reshum, silk
 lū[^]nī, makh.un, butter
 kha[^]ḍvá, paṭká, small
 turban
 sák, ná[^]tá, relationship
 pio, lálá, father
 girá[^], mo[^]rā, village
 pacchá[^], tirkálá[^],
 nimáshá[^], evening
 pa[^]ḍ, gadhri, bundle
 mí[^]tá[^], tarle, entreaties

ΛJh, bāu[^], sit
 amúdhá, apuṭṭhá, upside down
 uḍik, há[^]ḍ, expectation
 uttuṇ, saṭṭuṇ, kā[^]i, vomiting
 vakhrá, neveklá, separate
 chek, mori, hole
 cháli, bakri, goat
 cú[^]rā, musallī, sweeper
 gā[^]lā, moklá, loose
 dhúr, khe[^], dust
 kapre, cí[^]re, clothes
 lakh.á, kāsá[^]i, butcher
 Jussá, pí[^]ḍá, body
 hur, lāu[^], descend
 saggo[^], haḍḍo[^], moreover
 bhúá, phupphi, father's sister
 mu[^]ḍrī, cháp, ring
 khotá, kharká, ass
 photú[^]i, ku[^]rī, váskat, waistcoat
 kúlá, lavvá, soft
 pā[^]lo[^], mo[^]ro[^], first
 muk, nikhuṭ, finished
 vedhá[^], munárukḥ, congra-
 tulations
 sarfá, líá, economy

sáluṇ, səlúṇá, lávuṇ, cooked curry	trel, pal, dew
bhan, troṇ, break	tíkun, táí^h, upto
buddhá, vaḍká, oldman	cal, Jul, go
vír, bhirá, brother	ve^hlá, vá^hdá, free
trá^h, ḍar, fear	vassul, piáJ, onion
gá^hl, Gair, phakkuṇ, abuses	sattur, paṛdá, Purdah
isbáb, samían, goods	sabhe, habbo, kul, all.

VIII. 4. Accent

The existence of stress-accent in IA has been thoroughly discussed by Jacobi (Z. D. M. G. Vol. 47, pp. 574ff) and Grierson (Z. D. M. G. Vol. 49, pp. 398ff.). It is now a popular fact that the NIA closely follows the rules of the Sanskrit stress-accent (as distinct from the ancient musical accent). The only difference, to quote Grierson, is that the NIA does not usually throw the accent further back than the antepenultimate if the word ends in a long syllable. An important exception to the theory of penultimate accent has since been discovered by Dr. B. D. Jain (Phonology of Punjabi, pp. 93ff.) with regard to central languages. Another exception has been noted by Dr. Kakti (Formation and Development of Assamese, p. 82), in the Kamarupi dialect of Assamese.

The law of accent-shift, as propounded by Dr. Jain, applies to Awankari disyllabic words only. Compare examples and conditions in the present author's "Lahndi Phonetics".

In Awankari trisyllabic words, stress always shifts to or remains at the second syllable. Compare—

bá^hví, twenty two	but bltá^hlí, forty two
bá^hh, sixty two	but bəva^hJá, fifty two
batri, thirty two	but bəhattur, seventy two
bá^hnve, ninety two.	
píná, he drinks	but pivíná, is drunk
ákhná, he says	but əkhená, he says
cauká, a kitchen square	but cəbára, upper room, while P. cānbára
ḍá^hg, staff	but ḍə^hgorí, a small stick
ghol, dissolve	but ghulená, he dissolves

patthá, washer

but **pathallá**, sitting cross-legged
< pra-sthala.

Thus the rhythm of the language is kept. It is a very important exception to Dr. Jain's theory.

The following instances of this exceptional accent in trisyllabic words are interesting—

māl'haurá, wife's maternal uncle, < mātul-shvashura-*

pit'rāu'rá, wife's paternal uncle, < pitravya-shvashura*

kə'rená, he does, < Pk. karanta-

ukruṇ, to inscribe, and **uk'rená**, he inscribes, < utkirati

ubur, speak, and **ub'rāiná**, he calls, < udbrū-

It can be safely said that stress in Awankari is more regular and stronger than in Punjabi.

VIII 4. i. Influence of accent

The accent causes important changes in words. The preservation, weakening, elision, irregular change, as well as guṇa-vṛddhi of vowels rest upon this accent. Sometimes syllables also disappear under the influence of accent, which is predominantly expiratory in Awankari.

1. In stressed syllables, all OIA pure vowels remain unchanged. Compare—

Aw. **ḍhillá**, loose, < Skt. shithilāḥ, Pk. dhilla

Aw. **ḍívá**, lamp, < Skt. dipakāḥ, Pk. divao

Aw. **gaJJuṇ**, to thunder, < Skt. garjati

Aw. **galdá'vá**, fillet, < Skt. gala-dāman

Aw. **churá**, knife, < Skt. kṣurāḥ, Pk. chura-

Aw. **so'pá**, beautiful, < Skt. shobhana-, Pk. sohaṇa

Aw. **se'rá**, fillet, < Skt. shekhara-, Pk. sehora

etc., etc.

2. On the other hand in a pre-accentual and post-accentual position, vowels become extremely weak.

(a) Compare how the vowels are shortened in the following—

Skt. shyāla-bhāryā, > Aw. **səl'háj**, brother-in-law's wife

Skt. ākāśha-, > Aw. **ə'gás**, sky

Skt. tūla-, cotton, Pk. tūlia, > Aw. **tu'lál**, cushion

*Note how the dialect reduces words to trisyllabic sounds.

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- Skt. *rātr-andhakāḥ*, > Aw. *rə'tá'ná'*, night-blindness
 Skt. *dhānyakāḥ*, > Aw. *dhə'nel*, coriandar seed
 Skt. *nārikela*, > Aw. *nə'rel* also *nəl'ger*, cocoanut
 Skt. *jamātr-*, > Aw. *Ja'vái*, son-in-law
 Skt. *nīroga*, > Aw. *ní'roiá*, healthy.

(b) Awankari stress is so strong that this weakened vowel may take any neutral shape, thereby changing its quality as well. Compare—

- Pl. [u] > [ə] in Aw. *ədhroṛ*, undo, < *uddharati* and in Aw. *khəḍḍí*, a rough needle, < *kṣudra-sūcikā*
 Pl. [áva], Pk. [o] > [ə] in Aw. *əmúdhá*, upside down, < *ava-múrdhānaḥ*
 Pl. [omu], Pk. [ou] > [əú] in Aw. *gəútur*, cow's urine, < *go-mútra-*
 Pl. [i] > [ə] in Aw. *təṭí'rí*, a bird, < *tittibhaḥ* and in Aw. *shərí'*, a tree, < *shriṣa-*
 Pl. [í] > [ə] in Aw. *dərokhá*, lamp-stand, < *dīpa-rakṣakāḥ*
 Pl. [eva], Pk. [eu] > [i] in Aw. *diráni*, husband's younger brother's wife, < *devara-rājñí*
 Pl. [ai] > [i] in Aw. *virágá*, sad, < *vairāgya-*
 Pl. [a] > [i] in Aw. *chitáki*, 1/16 of seer, < *ṣaṭ ṭāṅká*
 Pl. [á] > [i] in Aw. *miliár*, gardener, < *málákár*
 Pl. [a] > [u] in Aw. *phulá'*, a tree, < *palásha-*
 Pl. [o] > [u] in Aw. *luhár*, blacksmith, < *lobakārah*; Aw. *luhá'dá*, iron vessel, < *loha-bhāṇḍa-*.

The penultimate [u] in Awankari is an instance of the development of weak vowel in a post-accentual position. Compare—

- Aw. *máluṇ*, wife of a gardener, < *máliní-*
 Aw. *vapu*, trade, < *vāṇijyam*
 Aw. *kanuk*, wheat, < *kaniká*, Pk. *kanikká*
 Aw. *dharut*, bottom, < *dharitrí-*.

The same has become neutral [ə] in Punjabi. Turner (§. 21) points out that a secondary stress was developed on certain syllables in later stages of Indo-Aryan languages, by which the short vowel was saved from being elided. Awankari secondary stress, the existence of which has been noted before, has enabled these "unaccented" vowels to exist in some form or the other. Otherwise, compare examples below in which vowels have altogether disappeared for

want of stress.

(c) Elision of vowels and sometimes syncopation of syllables is due to the conditions of strong stress-accent in Lahndi dialects.

Examples—

[á]

- Aw. **lámútrá**, longish, < lamba-uttarāḥ
aṣṭá¹lī, 48, < aṣṭa-catvāriṣṣat
vaṇJárá, tradesman, < vāṇijya kārāḥ
khárá, arena, < akṣavāṭakāḥ
kaṛchī, ladle, < Pk. kaḍacchu.

[i]

- asthrá**, restless, < asthirāḥ
thiddá, greasy, < stimitāḥ
parnívaṇ, to marry, < pariṇíyate
nixtá, came out, < nishkṛtāḥ
hardul, turmeric, < Pk. hariddá
do¹trá, daughter's son, < Skt. dauhitra-

[u]

- kukṛí**, hen, < kukkuṭiká
lukṛí, wood, < Sk. laguḍa
 etc., etc.

Syllables have disappeared in the following examples—

- Aw. **vith**, space, < vitastiḥ
 Aw. **bhaṇiá**, sister's husband, < bhaginípatiḥ
 Aw. **cəhāṇi**, cremation place, < citādhāna-
 Aw. **curási**, 84, < caturashítiḥ
 Aw. **ḍhillá**, loose, < shithilāḥ
 etc., etc.

(d) Note how nasality has disappeared before stress in the following words—

- Aw. **pəcvá¹Já**, fifty five,
 but **pá¹Jí**, 25, **pā¹trí**, 35
 Aw. **səbhál**, take, < Skt. sambhāryati
 Aw. **kuárá**, bachelor, < Skt. kumārakāḥ
 Aw. **kəcnár**, a flowering tree, < Pk. kan¹canára.

In my opinion denasalization of the group [nasal + aspirated

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plosive] was originally due to expiratory stress and then extended to all forms analogically. See III. 2. iii.

See also the chapter on 'Nasalization' (IV. 2.)

Retention of nasality in *pə~lta~li*, 45, *da~dasa*, tooth-wood, and such other words is due to secondary stress in the dialects.

(e) Many of the unusual changes can thus be explained in the light of accent. On p. 347, Turner points out that sometimes a vowel in an accented syllable is "due to the influence of forms where the first syllable is unaccented." Thus corresponding to OIA *likhati*, Gujrati has *lakhvu*, to see, due to the influence of *lakhāvū*. Similarly [i] in Aw. *dhikkā*, push.

Aw. *dhirkhāṇ*, carpenter, < Skt. *takṣan-*

and in Aw. *miṇkā*, bead, < Skt. *māṇikyam*

[u] in *Jhulkā*, fuel, < *jvalakaḥ*

etc., etc.

(3) The existence of double consonants from PI single consonants has to be explained only in the light of accent. Compare—

Aw. *ḍhillā*, loose, Skt. *shithila-*

Aw. *savvā*, 1 1/4, Skt. *sapādaḥ*, Pk. *savāya-*

Aw. *pathallā*, sitting cross-legged, Skt. *pra-sthala-*

Aw. *assī*, eighty, Skt. *ashīti*.

The same effect has been noted by Pischel (p. 141) in Prakrit.

Compare—

AMg. *ujju*, < *ṛju*,

Jm. *jitta*, < *jita*

Ap. *ketthu*, < *katha*,

Ap. *hatta*, < *hata-*.

(4) When occurring initially in a penultimate stressed syllable, a double consonant from Skt. or Pk. is singled or weakened, as in

Aw. *əkhāṇ*, saying, < Pk. *akkhāṇa*, Skt. *ākhyāna-*

Aw. *nitāruṇ*, to clarify, < Pk. *nithārai*, < Skt. *nistāryati*

Aw. *ənāḷ*, corn, < Skt. *annādyā-*

Aw. *utāṇā*, upside down, < Skt. *uttānaḥ*

Aw. *udhār*, debt, < Skt. *uddhāra-*

Aw. *əṭhāṭh*, 68, < Skt. *aṣṭa-ṣaṣṭhi*

Aw. *ucāvā*, that can be raised

Aw. *nimāṇā*, poor, < Pk. *nimmanao*.



POSSIBILITIES
including
Obscurities and Desis of the Dialect



POSSIBILITIES including Obscurities and Desis of the Dialect

1. Possibilities

Sounds in a very large number of words cannot be definitely explained phonologically. An attempt is made to suggest possible origin of such sounds in Awankari. As already noted, analogy, contamination and phonetic-semantic extension play a large part in the formation of sounds in the dialect. It appears that in many words to be treated under the section in hand, all these phenomena have worked together and in certain cases so entirely deformed the words that they have now become unrecognizable.

These words* will be grouped under three divisions—

1. Words in which the sounds may have more than one explanation.
2. Words in which some fragments have a remote connection with PI, MI or NI.
3. Words which appear phonologically obscure to me.

(1)

Aw. **ad**, open, < PI **√ad**, to attack, or **√ad**, to eat, or contami-

*These words are being considered to facilitate further research.

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nation of both.

Aw. **apur**, reach, < utpatati, reaches, or < PI *ápta*, or < arpati
MI appai, MI appa, -**r** being an extensional suffix.

Aw. **á**, come, < *√áp*, (Turner), or < PI *ává*, to come, or < PI
áyá, to come.

Turner's explanation appears to be less acceptable.

Aw. **áphur**, to be stuffed, < PI *á-√sphaḍ* (to tear), or < PI *á-√sphaṭ* (to be torn), or variation of Aw. **phul**, to swell, or
phur, to throb.

Aw. **ukhur**, to be uprooted, < PI *ud-√skṛ*, Pk. *ukkhali*, or
< PI *ud-√khaḍ*, or < PI **utkhaṭati*.

Aw. **ur**, bend, < PI *ava-√ruh*- (descend) or doublet with **uḍ**, fly.

Aw. **udhul**, abscond, < PI *ud-√hval*-, or < PI *uddhar*-, or < PI
ud-√dal-,

Aw. **ku^hr**, to fret, < PI *√kruddh*, to be angry, or < PI *√kuth*, to
torture, or PSM. of Aw. **ka^hr**, boil.

Aw. **ka^hr**, boil, < PI *kāṭh*-, to torture, Pk. *kaḍhai*, or < *√kvath*
or doublet with **kar**, bind. Compare also H. *kaṛá*, hard.

Aw. **gaḍ**, sow, or as < PI *gaḍ*, to hide, < Pk. *gaḍḍa*. Turner
thinks it is < PI. *gartaḥ*, pit.

Aw. **cá**, lift, < PI. *cāvayati*, goes, or < PI *cáyati*, drops.

Compare also *cyutaḥ*, fallen.

Aw. **cod**, copulate, < PI *codayati*, propels, or extension of *√cyu*, to
flow. Compare also Aw. **cut**, anus.

Aw. **chap**, hide, < PI *√chap*-, to hide, or < PI *skauti*, covers.

Refer also to 'copnu' in Turner's Nepali Dictionary.

Aw. **Ju^r**, combine, < PI *yutati*, joins or < PI *judati*, goes, or
further development of Aw. **Ju^t**, join, < PI *yukta*-,

Aw. **Jul**, go, < PI *jval*, to glow, or contamination of *√jval*, *√jvar*,
or extension of *√yu*-, to separate, or P. S. M. of Aw. **Jhul**,
blow, < PI. *hval*-, to go.

Aw. **Jhuggá**, a hut, may be extension of PI *skauti*, or P.S.M. of
Aw. **Jhikká**, low.

Aw. **ṭad**, to open wide, < PI *tard*-, to hurt, or < PI *trad*-, to tear.
Compare with PI *√tad* (to beat) or P.S.M. of Aw. **ad**, open.

Aw. **ṭabh**, be stuffed with water, < PI *dṛp*, to kindle, or *dṛbh*,
to put together, or < MI *tappa*-, satiated, < PI *tṛpta*-, or
may be onomatopoeic. Compare **ḍaf**, a tabor.

Aw. **tetrá**, chequered, shows dissimilation of [c] in PI. *citrakaḥ*;

- or it may be an adjective from Aw. **tittur**, partridge, or it is a case of contamination between PI **citrakaḥ**, and PI. **tittaraḥ**.
- Aw. **dar**, to bury, < PI **dr̥dha-**, firm, PI. **dadha**, or < PI **sthira**, firm.
- Aw. **dhraṅgá**, body, < PI. **dhata-angakaḥ**, or < Skt. **dhara-angakaḥ**; or it may have connection with H. **adharang**, paralysis, or Aw. **ḍhaṅgá**, rope, or **dhiṅgí**, by force.
- Aw. **puJ**, suit, < PI **prayuj**, to be proper, or < PI **pūryate**, is filled; or it is a doublet with Aw. **pug**, complete.
- Aw. **pakkur**, reach, < Skt. **parka-**, mixing, or < Pk. **pakka**, reached. Compare also H. **pakaṛ**, catch.
- Aw. **botná**, young of a donkey, may have connection with Skt. **pota-**, child, or with Per. **búznah**, young monkey; or it may be a contamination of both, or it is an onomatopoeic word.
- Aw. **bukkul**, wrapping cloth, < Skt. **valkala-**, skin, but [u] in the initial syllable cannot be explained. It may be Indo-Aryanization of Per. **bagal**, armpit. Its connection with Aw. **buk**, double handful, or Per. **bucah**, bag, may also be considered.
- Aw. **búṇí**, handsell, < Skt. **bahu-karaṇiya-**, or Skt. **bodhaní**; or it is extended from Aw. **baṅvun**, to sit.
- Aw. **mamṭi**, turret, may be connected with Skt. **parvatya-**, hilly, or Pk. **pambaṭi**, or **pamaṭi**, or **mamaṭi**; or it may be derived from Per. **bám**, roof.
- Aw. **viḷ**, dampness, may be compared with Skt. **visarati**, emits, **vihvala**, distressed, and **vishitala**, very cold.
- Aw. **viṭ**, drop, may be derived from Skt. **√vi**, to throw, or from Skt. **√viṭ**, to curse.
- Aw. **seḷí**, rope, is P.S.M. of Aw. **seṅrá**, head garland, < Skt. **shekhara-kaḥ**. Compare IE **siele**.
- Aw. **sarsá**, better, may be connected with Skt. **sarasakaḥ** or **saras-yakaḥ**, tasteful, or **sadr̥shaḥ**, like; or it may be a Stsm. like Aw. **raśśá**, soup, < Skt. **rasaḥ**, juice.
- Aw. **hiṛ**, stiffening of penis, < Skt. **hiṇḍate**, wanders; or it may have connection with Aw. **ar**, entangle, or **ad**, open.

(2)

The following words are more obscure than those considered above—

- Aw. **amussá**, stale, may be considered with Aw. **ghamus**, closed air, < Skt. **gharma-uṣhman**.

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- Aw. **adh-khar**, of advanced age, may be connected with Skt. *ardha-skhalita-*, half-shaken, or it may be a Bahuvrihi compound of Aw. **adh-khará**, half-standing.
- Aw. **alambá**, bonfire, may be compared with H. *áláva*, bonfire, < Skt. *álata-*, Pk. *áláya*, burning wood.
- Aw. **aváḍá**, spark, may be a prefixal extension of Aw. **ḍá**, egg, showing roundness in form.
- Aw. **um**, ooze out, has possibly undergone *samprasāraṇa* of [va-] in *vam*, to pour out. Compare also Pk. *ummagga*, H. *umaṛ*.
- Aw. **ukká**, at all, Skt. *uktavá*, saying (that's all) or *ud + ka*, high up.
- Aw. **káḡ**, flood, may be a doublet with Aw. **kas**, rivulet, like **ḍas**, and **ḍaḡ**, bite, and **ḍáḡ**, stick, < Skt. *daṁśh*, to bite.
- Aw. **khágur**, old milching cow, may be compared with Skt. *ksháyika-*, Pk. *kháiga*, eaten, [r] is extensional suffix and post-stress effect has eliminated [i].
- Aw. **gakkur**, fruitstone, may be a case of deformity of Skt. *guṭiká*, a round pebble. Also consider P. *sakkar*, bark.
- Aw. **giṭá**, a stone, P.S.M. of Skt. *guṭiká*. Also compare Aw. **giṭṭá**, anklet, **guṭṭí**, wrist.
- Aw. **kbolrá**, hard, P.S.M. of **kham'rá**, rough.
- Aw. **khádi**, chin, Skt. *kakṣha-*, arm-pit, plus an innovated suffix.
- Aw. **khāi'rá**, pursuit, may be connected with Skt. *kṣhaya-*, fall.
- Aw. **khotar**, dig, scratch, may be compared with Skt. *√skud*, to cut, P. *khuṇá*, Aw. **khat**, dig.
- Aw. **gheslá**, lazy, seems to be derived from Aw. **ghusávuṇ**, to shirk, or **ghas**, to rub.
- Aw. **cu'nná**, short-eyed, H. *cundhiáná*, also *caká-cāu'ndh*, dazzled, may have been derived from Skt. *caka + ku + andhakaḥ*.
- Aw. **cuáti**, a burning wood, may be considered with Skt. *catuḥ-kāṣṭhí*, but dentalization of *-ṣṭha-* > *-tth-* is strange.
- Aw. **cugh**, to suck, Skt. *cūṣ-*, to suck, may be a case of P.S.M.
- Aw. **cúthi**, door-hinge. Compare Aw. **cúr**, dove-tail, Skt. *sthitah*, stood, or *cúḍah*, coil of hair.
- Aw. **chakor**, a basket, Skt. *chatvara-*, bower. Also consider Aw. **chikká**, a hanging basket, and **chaj**, winnowing basket.
- Aw. **chāuḍá**, bark, may be derived from IE. *sque*, Skt. *chādayati*, covers. Compare Aw. **chil**, bark, **chúpi**, a cover for pitcher, **chat**, roof, etc.

- Aw. **chik**, pull, shows metathesis of Skt. *kṛcchra-*, thinned, pulled down, or of *kṛṣyate*, is pulled. Also note H. *khiṇā*, to pull.
- Aw. **Jhak**, to be afraid, may be extended from Skt. *√jhā*, to meditate or Skt. *√cak*, to resist. Also consider H. *jhijhaknā*, to hesitate, and *cakā-cāndh*, dazzled.
- It may be an onomatopoeic word.
- Aw. **Jhol**, wash, Skt. *√kṣhāl-*, to wash, or Skt. *√kṣhar*, to flow. Also note Aw. **Jhāl**, a water-fall.
- Aw. **ṭhak**, prepare a bridegroom, Skt. *√stak*, to strike against. Compare H. *ṭhekā*, contract.
- Aw. **ṭhar**, be cold, Skt. *sthalati*, to be firm (with cold), or Skt. *sthara-*.
- Aw. **ḍag**, rough, may be P.S.M. of Punjabi **ḍig**, fall.
- Aw. **ḍak**, shut, Skt. *√ṭak*, to bind. Consider H. *ḍāk*, post, which stops at various places.
- Aw. **dhāḡ**, entangle, Skt. *√dhrām*, to glean. Also compare Aw. **dhāḡā**, thread, **dhikkā**, a push, and **dhiḡī**, by force, and P. *dhaggā*, a bull.
- Aw. **dhakki**, a steep place, appears to be an onomatopoeic word, connected with Aw. **dhṛak**, fall, **dhās**, rush in.
- Aw. **trakṛā**, strong, may be compared with Skt. *tark*, to shine, or *takra-*, churning stick (with intrusive [r]). **-rā**, of course, is extensional.
- Aw. **toṛe**, although, may be compared with Awadhi *tau* < Skt. **tadi* with diminutive suffix.
- Aw. **traḍḍā**, a mat, < Skt. *tata-* (spread) + extensional suffix **ḍā** (with *-r-* intrusive).
- Aw. **trikkul**, neck. Consider Skt. *trikkā*, three bones.
- Aw. **dregur**, or **draggur**, a sandy bed, may be a contamination of Skt. *dagdha-*, burnt, and Persian *reg*, sand, plus extensional suffix.
- Aw. **dhāruṇ**, weight, may be a doublet of Aw. **dhārā**, balance, < Skt. *dhātāḥ*, balance; or the word may be P.S.M. of Skt. *dhara-*.
- Aw. **niহারá**, bier, < Skt. *ni-āhārya-*; because it is carried for disposal of the dead body.
- Aw. **pin**, beg, < Skt. *piṇḍa*, lump (semantic extension). The beggar wants a lump of eatables.
- Aw. **pacci**, ashamed. Pk. *paccaya*, < Skt. *pratya-*, faith; or

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the word is from Skt. *pasca-*, after, or *pascātāpa-*, repentance, used idiomatically.

- Aw. **pa^hgur**, to grow, may be a denominative from Skt. *pra-ankura-*, off-shoot.
- Aw. **palseti**, side-turning, Skt. *paryasta-*, scattered about, or *pārshva-*, side. [I] is intrusive as in Aw. **pālethun**, flour, < Skt. *paryasta-*; or in Aw. **malvesi**, piles.
- Aw. **phu^hd**, swell, may be compared with Pk. *phuḍḍ*.
- Aw. **phis**, crushed, may be a doublet with H. P., *pis*, grind, < Skt. *√pish*; or it is onomatopoeic.
- Aw. **phū^hri**, mat, Skt. *sphāra-*, spread, or space.
- Aw. **phaddā**, toothless, may be considered with Skt. *phalgudantakāḥ*, one having meaningless teeth.
- Aw. **bid**, compete, < Skt. *vid*, to know, or Skt. *vivad*, to debate.
- Aw. **bir**, set of teeth, has some connection with Skt. *√vi*, to eat, or *vīthi*, street. Compare IE *via*, way.
- Aw. **bū^ha**, door, may be taken from Skt. *dvibāhukāḥ*, one having two arms.
- Aw. **bhaggul**, blanket, may be a case of P.S.M. of Aw. **bukkul**, wrapping cloth, considered above.
- Aw. **bhochun**, scarf, Skt. *bhūṣaṇa-*, ornament.
- Aw. **bhodā**, ugly forehead, may be compared with Skt. *bhaya-pradaḥ*, terrifying, and H. *bho^hdā*, stupid.
- Aw. **bhit**, be polluted, Skt. *viṭaḥ*, rogue, or *viṣṭhā*, excrement, or Aw. **bhir**, closed.
- Aw. **māi^hdā**, mine, may be a cerebralized form of P. *māi^h+dā*, of me.
- Aw. **mārā**, bad, may be contamination of Skt. *manda-* and *mard-*, to crush, or *maḍ-*, to throb.
- Aw. **ma^hd**, thrust, may be a preservation of nasalized *maḍ*.
- Aw. **much**, rob, has semantic connection with Skt. *muṣ-*, to steal, but Aw. [ch] from PI [s] is inexplicable. Compare Pa. *mucchatī*, curdles, < Skt. *mūrechatī*.
- Aw. **rac**, be fed up, has remote semantic relationship with Skt. *racyte*, is made, Pk. *raccai*, is attached.
- Aw. **lissā**, weak, may be P.S.M. of Skt. *ālasya-*, laziness, or Skt. *shliṣyati*, clings to.
- Aw. **lavvā**, delicate, may be traced to Pk. *lavaia*, but its parallel in Skt. is not obtainable. Consider Skt. *lava-*, particle, *lavakita-*,

- Aw. **legá**, parasitical, may be compared with H. **lagá huá**, attached.
- Aw. **lúdá**, fondling, has some connection with Skt. $\sqrt{\text{lad}}$, **loḍ**, H. **lādalā**; the vowel in the initial syllable is for P.S.M.
- Aw. **loth**, dead body, is a contaminated form of some unknown word with Skt. **lupta**, hidden, or **loṣṭha-**, stone.
- Aw. **vəlhet**, wrap, may be considered with Skt. **samveṣṭayati**, wraps, or H. **lapet**.
- Aw. **var**, enter, has obscure relationship with Skt. $\sqrt{\text{val}}$, to turn, or $\sqrt{\text{pat}}$, to fall, Pk. **vaḍ** or **paḍ**. It may be a contamination of both.
- Aw. **saddhur**, longing, < Skt. **shraddhá**, faith, but **[-r]** remains to be explained, if it is not extentional.
- Aw. **soghá**, sound (adj.), H. **sughar**, accomplished. Compare Skt. **shvasta** and **oghaḥ**, trustful mass?
- Aw. **sakhná**, empty, may be considered with Skt. **svakaḥ**, by itself, Aw. **sakká**, one's own.
- Aw. **sammur**, collect, < Skt. $\sqrt{\text{sambhar}}$; cf. H. **sambhál**.
- Aw. **sá'sí**, a criminal tribe, may be connected with Skt. **sáhasin**, adventurer, or **sannyásin**, hermit.
- Aw. **hedhá**, obstinate, may be connected with Skt. **haṭha-**, force, or **heḍá**, disregard.
- Turner derives Aw. (Lahndi) **hag**, to ease oneself, from Skt. **shakṛta**, excrement, may also be considered. Compare also Aw. **hag**, can, < Skt. **shaknoti**.
- Aw. **hoṭá**, heart, has semantic relationship with Skt. **hṛdaya-**, Pk. **hiaya**. **-ta** may be an extensional suffix as in Aw. **bakroṭá**, kid, **bəroṭá**, a young tree, etc. But the vowel **[o]** is obscure. As in **hag** above, **[h-]** in **habhá**, < Skt. **sarva**, all, is a curio.
- Consider Aw. **thigrí**, rag, with H. **cíthrá**; Aw. **líre**, clothes, with H. **laří**, series, Skt. **lalita-**, beautiful.
- The nominal suffix in Aw. **surheJ**, father-in-law's house, < Skt. **shvashura-**, Aw. **pakeJ**, firmness, < Skt. **pakva-**, and Aw. **na'geJ**, nakedness, < Skt. **nagna-**, is obscure.
- Aw. **ḍorá**, deaf, may be a case of metathesis from Skt. **vadhira-** or it may be connected with Skt. **dolaḥ**, swing.
- Preservation of Aw. **kittí**, how many, < Skt. **kati**, is interesting.
- Deformity in Aw. **Jhú'gá**, extra article, may be compared to that in Mar. **jakera**, surplus article.
- [dh]** from Pk. **[jh]** in Aw. **tudhá'**, to you, requires explanation.

IX

Compare Pk. *tujjha*, *tujjhu*, (Bloch, I-A. p. 146).

[**ch-**] from PI [**ś-**] > Pk. [**ch-**] in Aw. *che*[~], six is obscure.

Consider also Aw. *hād*, hope, with Skt. *āśā*.

[**i**[~]] in Aw. *mī*[~], rain, < Skt. *megha*-, cloud, is unusual. The nasality in Aw. *pambā*, toe, < Skt. *padma*, is funny. The links between Aw. *sādhū*, wife's sister's husband, and Skt. *shyālīvodhṛ*, are missing.

[**bb-**] in Aw. *kubbā*, hump-backed, < Skt. *kubjakaḥ*, shows that there was a doublet in Skt. *kubrah*. Compare H. *kubrā*.

There is some kind of contamination in Aw. *sāu*[~]*kuṇ*, co-wife, Skt. *sapatnī*, Pk. *savatti*, H. P. *saut*.

The connection of Aw. *peṛā*, lump, Pk. *peḍha* with Skt. *piṇḍaḥ* is obscure.

As in *che*[~], six, [**ch-**] in Aw. *chikkā*, a net-work, < [**sh-**] in Skt. *shikyā* is very unusual. It may be an incipient phenomenon.

PI [**-shr-**] > Aw. [**-thr-**] in *athrū*, tear, < Skt. *ashru*-, is not clear.

The phonological connection of Aw. *me*[~]*nā*, taunt, with Skt. *ālabha*- is doubtful. Compare Guj. *meheṇē*, reproaches.

Consider Aw. *hī*[~], side of a bed-stead, with Skt. *īṣā*.

Turner connects Aw. *cho*[~]*r*, boy, with Skt. *chorayati*, abandons, Pk. *choyara*. But the semantic connection is doubtful. It may be better allied to Skt. *kṣudra*-, small.

For possibilities in linguistics, compare Beams (P. 120) on H. *ṭikḍī*, a small cake, which he connects with *ṭikā*, a mark on forehead.

(3)

I shall now place before you some riddles of Awankari phonology. Some may be solved as Dasis of the dialect, while others may remain inexplicable obscurities.

Aw. *āirā*, foundation, Pashto *arah*, but it has no parallel in Persian or Sanskrit.

Aw. *ukṛū*[~], topsy-turvy, *kāir*, news, may be derivative words.

Aw. *kharedhā*, healed part of the wound, P. *khara*[~]*ḍ*, H. *kharāṅkh*, dry.

Aw. *khim*, flash, may be onomatopoeic.

Aw. *khosre*, torn shoes, may be considered with *khus*, tear, < Skt. *kuṣṇāti*, tears.

Aw. *gathur*, regard, may be a contamination of Skt. *gaṇ*, to count, and *sthira*-, firm.

Aw. **ghat**, put, H. ghāl.

The parallel of Aw. **cəmut**, cling, H. camṭá, Pk. cimiṭṭa-, attached, is not obtainable in Sanskrit.

Aw. **chekur**, end, may be considered with Aw. **chek**, < Skt. cheda-, hole.

Aw. **Jivur**, absorb, Skt. √ju, to combine.

Aw. **Jhab**, to clean, may be connected with Onom. **Jhab**, at once, H. jhaṭ.

Aw. **ṭaḍ**, rob.

The connection of **ṭhaḍḍiā**, small-pox, with Aw. **ṭhaḍḍá**, cold, is not very clear.

Aw. **ḍáci**, **Játi**, she-camel, may have some substratum.

It is possible to connect Aw. **ḍhodhi**, bread, with Aw. **ḍhiḍ**, belly, < Skt. adhiṣṭha-.

Aw. **thirbá**, doublet with **thir**, stagger, may be taken from Skt. asthira-.

Aw. **dáJá**, reins, appears to have been borrowed from some unknown word in Persian or Turkish.

Aw. **dhore**, hedge, may be derived from Skt. dhápayati.

The connection of Aw. **nəthúr**, a thorn in the nail, with Skt. nakha, nail, or naddha-, struck, is obscure.

Aw. **púḡ**, young ones, **poḡre**, insects, have remote connection with IE (pu), Sk. putra-, son.

Aw. **bəṛúri**, sore.

Aw. **reḍhi**, a kind of melon.

Aw. **seṽká**, insects in excrement.

Aw. **milus**, camel-hair.

Aw. **viṇi**, wrist.

Aw. **súri**, dung-cake.

Aw. **búra**, a pitcher with broken neck, may be compared with H. búrhá, old, or P. bolá, deaf.

Aw. **muJhákhrá**, dawn, may be a semi-loan from H. muḡ-jháḡk, face-peeping.

I wonder if Aw. **murkiá**, ear-rings, has any connection with Aw. **bulák**, nose-ring, Russian bulavka, clip.

Aw. **lip**, bend, may be an extension from Skt. lí, to melt. Compare H. lacakná.

The phonological connection of Aw. **viáJb**, bargain, with Skt. vyavahára- is obscure. It may be connected with Skt. vi-akṣ >

vi-ajh-

Aw. **hā^hghī**, sieve, may be from Skt. bhagna-, divided. Sieve is a divider, no doubt. [bh-] has perhaps changed to [h-] as in bhavati.

Aw. **māriā^h**, or **māro^h**, for the sake of, is another riddle.

Notes—1. Many of the obscurities could be explained if a complete list of vocables of common use could be prepared in Sanskrit. But unfortunately a large number of vyavāharika words have died out. Scholars must reconstruct such words on the existing vocables in Indo-Aryan languages.

2. The majority of obscure words contain an initial cerebral. I sent a long list of such words to Prof. C. Sankran of the Deccan Research Institute, Poona, who is definite that they cannot be traced to Dravidian. Any other substratum, possibly in some Dardic languages, should be tried.

3. Most of the words, discussed in this section are specifically Awankari words. They may be innovations of the dialect itself, or they may be extensions of some relics of old words.



PERSIAN ELEMENT



PERSIAN ELEMENT

1. CONSONANTS.

(i) STOPS.

(a) PRESERVATIONS.

(b) MODIFICATIONS.

(c) EXTINCTIONS.

(d) OVER-PERSIANIZATION.

(ii) NASALS.

(iii) LIQUIDS [r, l]

(iv) FRICATIVES.

(v) SEMI-VOWELS.

2. PERSIAN CONSONANT GROUPS.

3. PERSIAN VOWELS.

(i) TREATMENT OF SHORT VOWELS.

(ii) TREATMENT OF LONG VOWELS.

(iii) AIN AND HAMZAH.

4. GENERAL PROBLEMS.

(i) NASALIZATION.

(ii) METATHESIS.

(iii) ADDITIONS OF SOUNDS.

(iv) DEFORMITIES.

(v) POSSIBILITIES.

(vi) ELISION OF SOUNDS.

X

(vii) EXTENSIONS.

5. VOWELS IN CONTACT.

6. THE EFFECT OF AWANKARI STRESS.

X. 1. Consonants

X. 1. 1. Stops

Most of the Persian stops have come down unchanged. Changes may be grouped up under the following heads—

(a) Modifications, especially of some unaspirated plosives into aspirated ones, and of some foreign sounds into native ones.

(b) Extinctions, generally in the intervocalic and final positions.

(c) Over-Persianization of certain plosives. For examples, in a number of words [k] was changed to [x], [g] to [G], [J] to [z], and [p] or [ph] to [f], and so on.

Arabic [ʕ] and [ʔ], perhaps, never entered the Awankari tract. It appears that they had lost their consonantal quality in Persia. A friend of mine who went to Iran on an educational tour six years back told me that the Persian speakers seldom pronounce [ʔ] and [ʕ] as glottal sounds.

X. 1. i(a). Preservations

The majority of Persian loan-words in Awankari have preserved Persian stops. Examples are given below—

(1)

[k-]

kágut, paper, < kágaz

kuʿllá, a cap, < kuláh

kímxá, brocade, < kímxwáb

[-k-]

rəkáb, stirrup, < rakáb

vəkíl, lawyer, < wakíl

takrár, argument, < takrár, repetition

[-k]

sá^hnak, plate, < sahnak

cábuk, whip, < cábuk

nəzík, near, < nazdik.

(2)

[g-]

gi^hia^h, 1/16 of a yard, < girah

girmála, a tool for plaster, < gilmálah

guzára, time-passing, < guzárah

[-g-]

dargá^h, shrine, < dargáh

vigár, force labour, < bigár

ki^hgrá, border, < kangúrah (minaret)

[-g]

rag, vein, < rag

ta^hg, annoyed, girth, < tang

nag, a pearl, number, < nag.

(3)

[-c-]

cəbaccá, cistern, < cáhbaccāh

cugá^hd, hockey, < caugán

cilum, smoking pipe, < cilm

[-c-]

kai^hci, scissors, < qānci

bəgicá, orchard, < báoicāh

parcá, paper, < párcāh (piece)

[-c]

xaruc, expense, < kharc

pec, screw, < pec

kúc, pass away, < kúc

(4)

[J-]

Jussá, body, < juṣṣah

Jəgír, fief, < jāgír

Jaddí, inherited, < jaddi

[-j-]

Ja^hJír, chain, < zanjír
si^hJáf, border of garment, < sanjáf
aJaíb, wonderful, ^cajáib

[-j]

ri^hJ, angry, < ranj (grief)
mauJ, enjoyment, < mauj (wave)
iláJ, treatment, < ^ciláj.

(5)

[t-]

tərík, date, < táríkh
takmá, medal, < tamcah
tesá, adze, < teshah

[-t-]

kitáb, book, < kitáb
pistá, a small-sized pup, < pistah (a nut)
hamáití, supporter, < hamáyati

[-t]

əfát, mischievous fellow, < áfát
goshut, meat, < gosht
shishut, aiming a shot, < shist.

(6)

[d-]

davát, inkpot, < davát
dathá, bundle, < dastah (handful)
duá, wedding, < du^cá (blessing)

[-d-]

maídá, flour, < maidah
madut, help, < madad
madán, plain, < maidán

[-d]

barúd, gunpowder, < bārūd
muníád, duration, < buniyád
návalud, childless, < láwāld.

(7)

[p-]
pəlita, fuse, < fətilah
pódna, mint, < podinah
parcún, retail, < párcah (piece)

[p-]
vápus, return, < vápis
pípa, barrel, < pipah
shipá¹, soldier, < sipáhi

[p]
top, cannon, < top.

(8)

[b-]
báki, revenue, < báqí (remainder)
bucká, bundle, < buccah
bádiá, a big cup, < bádiyah

[b-]
abro, respect, < ábrú
əbád, live, < ábád (populated)
ushbázi, fire-work, < átishbázi

[b]
isbáb, goods, furniture, < asbáb (reasons)
kurub, honour, < qurb, nearness
pə[~]Jeb, anklet, < pázeb.

X. 1. i(b). Modifications

[q] is most regularly changed to [k] in Awankari.

Initially

kuruk, confiscation, < qurq
káshuk, spoon, < qáshiq
kəziá, botheration, < qaziyah (quarrel)
kurub, honour, < qurb (nearness)

Medially

bekul, fool, < be-^saqł
ikrar, promise, < iqrār
vákub, familiar, < váqif

X

bhurká, veil, < burqa^s

Finally

fírák, grief, < firáq (separation)

hak, right, < haq

láik, able, < lá^oiq

ták, door, < ráq (arch).

Similarly (ṭ) is changed to [t] in all loan-words from Persian.

Initially

táún, plague, < tá^oún

táne, taunts, < ta^onah

tu[^]rá, end of turban, < turrah

Medially

nutfá, seed, < nurfah

totá, parrot, < tul^otí

gotá, diving, < gotah

Final

xat, letter, < khat^r

Galut, wrong, < galt

kisht, instalment, < qist.

It may be pointed out at once that [c] and [p] in Persian words are the most conservative sounds; and preservation, rather than modification of both is a very regular phenomenon in Lahndi.

Of the other sounds a common form of modification has been their aspiration. Aspiration was unknown to Persian and Arabic consonants. Awankari added aspiration on to them in the attempt to Indo-Aryanize foreign words. The following examples are interesting—

[k]

kbaphaṇ, shroud, < kafan

khudar, ravine, < kurdar

mulukh, country, < mulk

[g]

ghá[^], grass, < giyáh

[J]

Jhul, a horse-cloth, < jul

muláJhá, regard, < **mulá[^]Ja** (hypothetical), < mulánizah

[t]

mutháJ, needy, < muhtáj

[d]

dhātūrā, a thorn-apple, < datūrah**haidrāvadh**, Hyderabad, < haidarābād

[b]

bhurkā, veil, < burqa^c**jebhá**, pocket, < jeb

[p]

phalúdā, rice flummery, < pālūdāh.

Vocalization or devocalization is another form of change undergone by a number of Persian stops, as for example—

nigará, tabor, < naqqarah**bədragā**, guide, < badraqah**xangā**, monastery, < khānqah**khurjīn**, saddle-bag, < khurcīn**xalkī**, anger, < khālgī**peshkī**, in advance, < peshgī**deckā**, kettle, < degcah**māsīt**, mosque, < masjid**shāit**, perhaps, < shāyad**kārzabān**, bugloss, < gāv-zubān**xatizā**, a name, < khadijah.

In the above instances, vocalization or devocalization is due to assimilation. Sometimes for phonetic reasons, dissimilation is the main cause of devocalization.

jilut, binding, < jild (skin)**pālīt**, impure, < palid**kālbūt**, a firm, < kālbut**ba[~]dkī**, salutation, < bandgī.

Retroflexion of Persian [t] and [d] may be noted in the following—

trāvut, freshness, < Tarāwat**der**, delay, < der**dol**, bucket, < dalv.

The modification of [d] to [ɖ] is a regular phenomenon in some Lahndi dialects. The above words may be loans from such dialects.

The words **dhakki**, a hillock, < dūk, and **dhhol**, drum, < duhal have undergone double change. Aspiration was added after retroflexion.

The change of Persian [b] to [v] is specific in the following

X

Awankari words—

varuf, ice, snow, < barf

varfī, a sweetmeat, < barfī

vedām, almond, < bādām

vigār, forced labour, < bigār.

This [v] further developed into the vowel [ú] in **shorúá**, soup, < shorbah.

The modification of [b] into [m] in the following instances is inexplicable:—

melái, cream, < bálán

zurmáñi, apricot, < **khúbáni**.

In **mumáruk**, congratulation, it may be a case of assimilation of the intervocal [b] to the initial [m] in Persian mubárak.

Note—It may be observed that modifications of stops in medial position are quite common. Initial stops change rarely.

X. 1. i(c). Extinctions

Extinction of certain stops has resulted, through syncope and apocope, in the following words—

Jī'd, life, < zindgī **batur**, worse, < badtar

ushbāzī, fire-work, < ātish-
bāzī **nāzīk**, near, < nazdīk

dāsxat, signature, < dast-
khar **murgái**, water-fowl, < murgábi

mazúr, labourer, < mazdūr **talá**, tank, < táláb

kímxá, brocade, < kímkhwáb.

X. 1. i(d). Over-Persianization

We have so far seen how Awankari has been trying to Indo-Aryanize certain Persian consonants. The opposite tendency of substituting fricative Persian sounds where pure stops existed is also remarkable in the following—

[x] in **mulux**, country, < mulk

xafzán, melancholia, < **khafzán**

vaxut, hard time, < waqt, time

tobáx, a tray, < tabáq.

[G] in **Guláb**, rose, < guláb
lāGám, bridle, < lagám.

[z] in **māzār**, keeper of a monastery or shrine, < majáwar
fazrī, dawn, < fajr
burzī, turret, < burj
kāzāvā, a camel's cradle, < kacáwah
xatizā, a name, < khadíjah.

also note [z] in

kuzrut, nature, < qudrat
azmít, manhood, < ádmíyyat
xizmut, service, < khidmat.

X. 1. ii. Nasals

[m] and [n] are the two nasals known in Persian loan-words. As a rule, [m] has remained unchanged.

Initially, as in

ma'lum, ointment, < marham
muzerá, farmer, < mazáricah
māzār, keeper of shrine, < majáwar

Medially, e.g.,

mamá, teat, < mamah
tēmáshá, fun, < tamáshah
hērámí, bastard, < harámi

Finally in

zulum, cruelty, < zulm
lāgám, bridle, < lagám
cilum, smoking pipe, < cilm

In sporadic cases the change of [m] to [v] through hypothetical [ṽ] is quite in conformity with the Indo-Aryan tendency. But it appears that by the time Persian began to be recognized that tendency had practically died. Compare—

<i>Indo-Aryan</i>	<i>Persian</i>
dāminí, rope, >	Awan. dávuṇ ; razámānd, agreeable, >
	Awan. razávaṇḍ
shyámala, dark, >	sávul (greenery), ámdaní, < áṽdí , income.
[p] in balGūṇ , phlegm, < balcam	is due to misconception of

X

[m] as [n]. Also cf. **nisrī**, sugar, < misrī.

[n]

Persian [n] is usually preserved.

Initial

necá, a huqqa-snake, < naycāh

nimáz, prayer, < namáz

Medial

Guná, sin, < gunāh

zanúná, womanish, < zanānah

Final

zan, suspicion, < zan

medán, plain, < maydān.

In a number of words [n] has changed to [ŋ] in medial and final positions. The only explanation of this modification can be this: The change of single [n] into [ŋ] is a regular phenomenon in Awankari. The Persian words which entered the tract during the period of that change have been affected and words that entered later when the tendency had died out have retained their [n] in tact.

Medial [n] > [ŋ]

Final [n] > [ŋ]

mupshī, clerk, teacher, < munshī

maŋ, maund, < man

muniád, foundation, < buniyád

amán, deposit, < amānat

jeráná, friendship, < yarānah.

X. 1. iii. Liquids [r, l]

Preservation, again, is the most common characteristic of liquid consonants from Persian. Examples—

[r]

Initial

rəvāit, custom, < ravāyat

reshum, silk, < resham

Medial

fərar, absconding, < farār

carzá, spinning wheel, < carkhah

Final

xátur, sake, < khátir (heart)

pír, saint, < pír (old)

shikár, hunting, < shikār.

[l]

*Initial***latá**, linen, < lattah**luḡí**, a turban, < lung**laik**, worthy, < láziq*Medial***melaḡ**, a care-free man, < malang**dálál**, broker, < dalál**salám**, salutation, < salám*Final***dil**, heart, < dil**halál**, lawful, < halál**mazál**, power, < majál.

Sometimes, as in I-A words, [r] is changed to [l] and [l] to [r] in, perhaps, all Indo-Aryan dialects. Examples—

[r] > [l]

dalcini, cinnamon, < dár-
cini

[l] > [r]

girmálá, plastering tool, <
gilmálah**maʿlum**, ointment, <
marham**regmár**, sandpaper, < regmál.

Retroflexion of [r] is also noticeable in some Persian words in Awankari, as in

murdá, dead body, < murdah**marud**, man, < mard**kurtí**, waist coat, < kurtá.

Medial and final [l] is regularly changed to [n] in the speech of Awans proper. See Chap. IV of our 'Lahndi Phonetics'.

The change of [r] to [n] in **mansiʿá**, elegy, < marṣiyah and of [l] to [n] in **nimmú**, lemon, < limú, and **návalud**, childless, < láwald, is unusual.

The following are the cases of extinction of [r]—

gustán, grave yard, < goristán**kárvái**, work, < karravái**curáʿiá**, crossing of roads, < cabár-ráh**kuráʿ**, bad way, < korá-ráh.

X. 1. iv. Fricatives

Fricative sounds in Persian were quite numerous. Of these [s], [ʃ] and [h] already existed in I-A. But [ʃh] had disappeared in M-1 and therefore for Awankari it was a new sound from Persian. [ʃh] in Indo-Aryan words is rare and wherever it occurs it is due to the influence of Persian [ʃh].

Persian [s] is regulary [s] in Awankari and it will be treated along with the latter in the following pages.

Examples of [s] > [s]

Initial

səbūn, soap, < sábuṇ

sabur, patience, < sabr

Medial

asul, real, < asl

khasi, castrated, < khassí

Final

xalás, discharged, < khalás, free.

[s]

Persian [s] is also usually changed to [s] in Awankari, except in the single example of **šulm**, garlic, > **thúm**. Compare—

šabūt, proof, > **səbūt**, viráṣut, bequest, > **virásut**,

vāraṣ, heir, > **vārus**.

[s] and [ʃh] are very simple consonants. They are either preserved or [s] is changed to [ʃh] and *vice versa*.

Examples of preservations are—

[s]

Initial

sāit, auspicious hour, < sāsīt

sərá, inn, < saráy

surxi, brick-dust, < surkhí

Medial

mudarsá, school, < madrasah

rasud, rations, < rasad

məsīt, mosque, < masjīd

Final

bas, enough, < bas

kus, female private part, < kus

tarus, pity, < tars (fear).

[sh]

Initial

shāit, perhaps, < sháyad
shábus, bravo, < shábāsh
shorá, nitre, < shorah

Medial

mushál, torch, < mash^qal
nishān, sign, < nishān (flag)
toshá, present, < toshah

Final

baxshish, alms
pec-kash, screw-driver
ravish, way, custom, < ravish.

The following are some examples of [s] > [sh]

Initial

shupáⁱ, soldier, < sipāhi
shurnáⁱ, clarionet, < surnáy
sháⁱ, ink, < siyāhi
sháped, white, < safed

Medial

rashid, receipt, < rasid
musháfur, traveller, < musáfir
ushman, sky, < ásmán

Final

námúsh, show, < námús, also cf. numáshish.
Arzinavish, petition writer, < ^qarzi-navis.

With the above may also be compared [s] and [s] also changing to [sh] in

ashkrá[~], after all, < akṣar
bāu[~]sh, discussion, bet, < bahas
ám xásh, common people, < ^qám khás
mashkrá, joker, < masakhrāh
ashráf, gentleman, < sarraf.

[sh] > [s] in the following

Initially

sabá[~]lá, bestman, < shāhbálá
silvár, trousers, < salwār
sísá, mirror, < shishah

*Medially***tesá**, adze, < teshah**sísá**, mirror, < shíshah*Finally***shábus**, bravo, < shábásh.

Persian [h] and [ɪ] both become [h] in Awankari. Their development in different positions of words has been different.

(1) Initially they are always [h] as in

halál, legitimate, < halál **hezár**, thousand, < hazár**hílá**, effort, < híláh (excuse) **hibbá**, grant, deed, < hibbah**herám**, unlawful, < harám **hosh**, sense, < hosh.

(2) Medially, in a stressed position, they are [h]. They begin a syllable then.

muharram, moharram, < muharram**bəháná**, excuse, < bahánah**vəhúsh**, vulgar, < vahashí**nihári**, breakfast, < nihár(i).

(3) When they do not begin a syllable, they disappear, medially as well as finally, leaving a tone on the preceding vowel.

*Medially***mo^ˆr**, pound, < muhar**zau^ˆr**, poison, < zahar**ká^ˆr**, calamity, < qahar**sa^ˆl**, well, < sahíh, right.*Finally***səlá^ˆ**, consultation, < saláh**thau^ˆ**, bottom, < tah; also cf.

Skt. tháha

niká^ˆ, wedding, < nikáh

(4) In a large number of words, [h] or [ɪ] becomes so weak in an unstressed final position that it is lost in Awankari, especially when it follows a consonant. Compare—

dəshúre, Moharram day, < dah ʿashúre**hátá**, compound, < ihátah**tasbí**, string of, < tasbíh, beads**zanúná**, effeminate, < zanánah**gunágár**, sinner, < gunáhgár

Disappearance of intervocalic [h] in **áste**, slowly, < ahístah, is irregular.

In compound words, [h] disappears in **sháh**, of **sháhtút**, **sháhzádah**. Awankari [z] < Persian [z], and other Arabic [z] sounds.

zát, caste, < zát**aváz**, sound, < áwáz**laztá**, enjoyment, < lazzat**zəbán**, word, < zubán

rāzī, satisfied, < **rāzī**

nāzīr, sight, < **nāzr**

ziddī, perverse, < **ziddī**

zan, suspicion, < **zan**.

Awankari has also borrowed [f], [x] and [G] from Persian. But it appears that in the early period of Persian influence, they could not be properly articulated. They were then modified into IA sounds: [f] was pronounced as [ph], [kh] as [kh], [z] as [J] and [G] as [g]. There is no doubt that these fricatives are now fully established in the dialect, yet there are words in which the fricatives have never been heard except in the speech of literate persons. The modification into stops is universal in the following examples—

phirnī, flummery, < **fīrnī**

phāīslā, judgment, < **fāīslāh**

phelānā, so and so, < **fulān**

khaphun, shroud, < **kāfan**

phetūī, waist-coat, < **fatūhī**.

[kh]

khārḅāJī, sommersault, < **khārḅāzī**

khurJīn, a saddle bag, < **khurcīn**

khurmānī, apricot, < **khurbānī**

khoJā, merchant, < **khwājah**, also Aw. **khodā**, beardless

sīkh, bar, < **sīkh**

kharkā, ass, < **khār**

khasmānā, responsibility, < **khasmānah**.

[z]

gāJ, yard, < **gāz**

Jamūr, pincers, < **zanbūr** (wasp)

būJo, monkey, < **būznah**

bāJā, goal, < **bāzī** (victory)

Jirā, cumin seed, < **zīrah**

Jalebī, a sweetmeat, < **zalībā**

sāJī, drummer, < **sāz** (organs).

[G]

bāg, embroidery, < **bāg**; cf. Aw. **bāG**, garden

cuglī, back-biting, < **cuolī**

murgāī, water-fowl, < **muroābī**

deg, cauldron, < **deg**

dərogā, Superintendent, < **dārooah**

guḏā, rascal, < (sar-) **gunnah**.

X

It may be noted that of these four sounds two are voiced and two are breathed consonants. The breathed consonants [f] and [kh] after having changed to aspirated plosives [ph] and [kʰ] respectively were deaspirated at some later stage in a number of sporadic cases. Examples are—

[f] > hypothetical [ph] > [p] in
párkhattí, a deed of discharge, < fárag-khattí
sapárush, recommendation, < sífárish
shuped, white, < safed
pík, funnel, < kíf (by metathesis).

[x] > hypothetical [kʰ] > [k] in
bashkí, a title, < bakhshi
batak, duck, a water-pot, < barakh
kavázá, platform for building, < khwázah
ikbár, newspaper, < akhbár
káluk, soot, < kálakh.

There are also examples showing vocalizing of this modified [p] in

váxub, familiar, < wáqíf
munsub, judge, < munsif
ashbur, a name, < Ashraf (metath.).

On the other hand, **bucká**, bundle, < bugcah and **cúcá**, chicken, < cúzah; **kirmcí**, crimson, < qirmazí are cases of devocalization of [g] and [z] coming through [g] and [j] respectively.

The most important phenomenon has been the preservation or adaptation of these Persian fricatives in Awankari. Although, as noted in the introduction, Hindus (more particularly the women) still employ stop for fricatives, yet the majority of Awankari speaking people use Persian fricatives very regularly. Of these, [f] is most regularly [f] in the speech of Awans; next in order comes [x]. [kh] is usually heard as [kʰ] in the speech of about 50% people. Yet there is a large number of words in which [kh] is invariably [x] in the speech of all Awankari speakers. [g] is found in about two dozen words so far discovered.

Examples—

[f]

Initial

fatiá, victory, < fatah
fazur, dawn, < fajar

fasul, crops, < fasl

Medial

lifáfa, envelope, < lifáfah

káfur, infidel, < káfir

nefá, upper part of trousers, < nefah

Final

si~Jáf, fringe, < sanjáf

varuf, ice, < barf

kaluf, dye, < kalaf

[z] including Arbic z sounds

Initial

za~gál, rust, < zang

zabáni, oral, < zabáni

zid, perverseness, < zidd

zulm, cruelty, < zulm

Medial

rezá, cloth, < rezañ (piece)

algarzi, idleness, < garz (selfishness)

uzú, ablution, < wuzú

faizá, a name, < fayz

Final

kamiz, shirt, < qamiz

báz, hawk, < báz

karuz, debt, < qarz

hāuz, blindman, < háfiz.

[kh]

Initial

xat, card, < khatt

xā~d, husband, < kháwand

xanzir, swine, < khanzir

xár, rivalry, < khár (thorn)

Medial

Jaxni, broth of meat, < yakhni

baxia, stitch, < bakhiyah

axir, final, < ákhir

baxtāur, a name, < bakhtāvar

*Final***shex**, covert, < shaykh (title)**dozux**, hell, < dozakh**jax**, cold, < yakh**shox**, fast (colour), < shokh.

[G]

*Initial***Gair**, abuse, < gayr (other)**Gairi**, secret, < gaybi**Gairib**, poor, < garib*Medial***bagica**, orchard, < bagicah**kalgı**, crest, < kalgi**balgun**, phlegm, < balgam*Final***dag**, spot, < dag**balug**, major, < balig**bag**, garden, < bag

In this connection please also read the note under "Over-Persianization" at p. 164.

The change of [f] to [x] in **muxut**, < muft, free of cost, and **binaxsha**, < binafshah is very unusual.

Persian [z] was, perhaps, clearly noted by the Awankars and the words like **vedifa**, scholarship, < wazifah, **nadur**, reader, < nazir and **tevit**, amulet, < taviz show that an attempt was made to imitate it; but as noted above it was either confused with [z] or with [d] or [t].

The connection between Per. sib, rope and Awan. **chib** (skein) and Per. juft (couple), and Awan. **Jast** (even number), is slightly obscure.

X. 1. v. Semi-vowels

The two semi-vowels [j] and [v] have preserved their semi-vocalic quality initially, as in

jala, O God, < ya-allah **vafur**, spare, < vafur**jumun**, beauty, < yamun **vaxut**, bad time, < vaqt

jārānā, friendship, < yārānah

jād, memory, < yād

vardush, exercise, < varazish.

In the interior of a word [-v-] is again retained when it begins a stressed syllable, as for example, in

divān, a title, < dīwān

halvāi, confectioner, < halwā'ī

navīsh, writer, < navīs.

[v] in an unstressed medial position and finally disappears.

maulī, priest, < maulvi

suāl, question, begging, < sawāl

de, giant, < dew.

In **tabelā**, stable, < tavelah. [v] has appeared as voiced [b]. This is in harmony with the I-A tendency noted earlier.

uzū, ablution, is a case of aphaeresis of [v] in Per. vuzū.

Persian [y] regularly disappears in intervocalic and final positions. Intervocally, however, it leaves a glide behind. Compare—

Medial

Final

hushiār, clever, < hoshiyār **sarāʾ**, inn, < saráy

dariā, river, < daryā **rā**, opinion, < ráy

tiār, ready, < tayār **Jā**, place, < jāy

etc., etc.

Note—The question of [w] with [x], had already been settled in Persian. It is usually never heard in loanwords in Awankari, e.g.,

xáb, dream, < xwáb

xáʾ mēxáʾ, without purpose, < khwáh makhhwáh

khoJā, merchant, < khwájah

tanzáʾ, pay, < tankhwáh.

In **khuár**, ruined, < khwár it is retained for Phonetic semantic differentiation against **xár**, rivalry, < xár.

X. 2. Persian Consonant Groups

Old Persian and Middle Persian did have initial consonant groups. But it appears that when Persian language came to India, it had no consonant groups in the beginning of words. Modern Persian does not tolerate conjunct consonants initially, and in Awankari no example has so far been found.

A homorganic group (i.e. a double consonant) may occur medially

X

or finally in Persian. The final double consonant has become a short (single) consonant in Awankari, as in

kad, size, < qadd

rab, God, < rabb

saa, year, < sann

zid, perverseness, < zidd

had, limit, < hadd etc., etc.

A medial homorganic group has been preserved, subject to the provisions discussed in our "Lahndi Phonetics".

mukadmá, law-suit, < muqaddimah

dafá, be away, < dafa^c

muddá, (stressed), duration, < mudda^c

Heterorganic groups at the end of words have all been split up in Awankari. e.g.

shukr, thankfulness, > **shukur** umr, > **umur**, age

mushk, scent, > **mushuk** jild, > **Jilut**, binding

rakht, skin, > **raxut**, hide mard, > **marud**, man.

But the same groups in medial position have been retained. Compare with the above—

shukrána, money for some good **umrá**, a name

mushkí, a black horse **Jaltí**, at once, < jaldí

baxtí, a name, < baxt, luck **mardává**, male.

The reason for the retention of medial groups is simple. In this position, their elements are easily divided between syllables. Thus **dostí**, friendship, = dos-tí in syllabication. In fact in medial position they are not genuine conjuncts, their being a tangible pause between the elements.

In a number of words, assimilation of the Persian consonant groups on the Prakrit or NI-A model has taken place. For example, Per. [st] and [sh] have changed to [tth] or [ʃʃh] in—

datthá, bundle, < dastah (handful)

kuʃʃhá, killed, < kushtah

thánedár, police officer, < ástánahdár

suthun, trousers, < susthan.

Also note the group nasal + stop assimilated in

samosá, a salt pastry, < sambosah

tamácá, slap, < tapancah

tammú, tent, < tambul.

X. 3. Persian Vowels

Changes in vowels are larger than in consonants. Stress-shift, syllabication, phonetic economy, grammatical differentiation, and Awankari tendencies—all combine to bring about a large number of changes in vowels. Moreover, sonority of vowels is less prominent than that of consonants. Hence the listeners care more for the latter than for the former.

It is in the vowels that we find certain specific features of the dialect.

X. 3. i. Treatment of short vowels

Persian short vowels [a], [i] and [u], like many other sounds, were not new to Awankari. Hence preservation of these sounds is quite regular, especially in monosyllabic words.

Examples—

	[ʌ]
bar , width, < bar	dam , enchantment, < dam (breath)
par , feather, < par	gaJ , yard, < gaz.
	[i]
Ji'd , life, < zind(gi')	dil , heart, desire, < dil
cik , chik, < cio	Jin , evil spirit, < jinn.
	[u]
kul , all, < kul	pul , bridge, < pul
sum , hoof, < sum	Jhul , a coarse cloth, < jul.

In disyllabic words they are preserved in stressed syllables, as—

[ʌ] in

ʌ'gʌr, grape, < angʌr
ʌsul, root, real, < ʌsl
kali, tin, < qalaʕi
bishak, doubtless, < beshak.

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[i] in

inám, prize, < ina^{ám}**zíkúr**, mention, < zikr**nishán**, mark, < nishán**fíkúr**, anxiety, < fikr

[u] in

bilkul, entirely, < bialkul**shurú**, beginning, < shurú^á**kulfi**, ice-cream, < qulfi**bulbul**, nightingale, < bulbul.

The tendency to preserve the short vowel in an accented syllable, i.e. the first syllable of a disyllabic word is so strong that in a number of words the vowel is fortified by a prothetic [h]. Examples—

afsos (sorrow), > **hamsó's**anjir (fig), > **hā~Jir**.

In the pre-stressed position of a disyllabic word, a short vowel is further shortened in value. Thus

[ʌ] > [ə] in

asíl, docile, < asil**anár**, pomegranate, < anár**bahár**, enjoyment, < bahár

[i] > [i] in

nishán, mark, < nishán**inám**, prize, < ina^{ám}**kitáb**, book, < kitáb.

[u] > [u] in

gumán, pride, < gumán**shurá~í**, a pitcher, < suráhi**unáb**, jujube fruit, < sunáb.

In the post-stressed position of a disyllabic word, a short vowel does not end a word. It occurs only in the middle position of the last syllable, when it is changed to the characteristic Awankari [u]. Compare—

karud, knife, < karad**bábut**, regarding, < bábat**xabur**, news, < khabar**mukur**, refuse, < munkir**koshut**, attempt, < koshish**málush**, massage, < málish.

It has been stated that in trisyllabic words, Awankari stress falls on the medial syllable. Preservation or modification of a short vowel in a trisyllabic word depends on its position. In the medial position it is preserved, as

[ʌ] in

shika~Jbí, a drink, <

shikanjbín

cəbaccá, cistern, <

cáhbaccáh

[i] in

sharmi~diá~, ashamed, <

sharmináh

cugirdí, all round, <

cáhar-gardí.

[u] in
bəzurgí, greatness, < *buzurgí*
nəmukur, refusing, < *munkir*.

In the first syllable of a trisyllabic word, it is reduced as in a disyllabic word. Examples—

[ʌ] > [ə] in	[i] > [i] in
səmosá , salt pastry, < <i>sambosah</i>	nisháqá , aim, < <i>nishānah</i>
cərakhrí , a wheel, < <i>carkhí</i>	girmálá , plastering tool, < <i>gilmalah</i> .

[u] > [u] in
mutháji, needfulness, < *muhataji*
muháří, heap, < *muharah* (barn).

In the final syllable it is reduced to [u] as in disyllabic words. Compare—

həJámut , shave, < <i>hajamat</i>	shəráfut , gentlemanliness, < <i>sharāfat</i>
məhammad , a name, < <i>muhammad</i>	musháfur , traveller, < <i>musafir</i>
nəbáluk , of age, < <i>nábali</i>	shəpárush , recommendation, < <i>sifārish</i> .

Phonetic economy is further evinced in instances where the short vowel disappears altogether, as

[a] by aphaeresis or syncopation in
nárdána, pomegranate seed, < *anárdānah*
ramzán, a name, < *ramzān*
ádmí, man, < *ādami*
ziástí, excess, < *ziyādati*.

[i] by aphaeresis or syncopation in
zámni, surety, < *zāminí*
láj, cure, < *gilāj*
lat, vice, < *gillat*
fátá, a prayer, < *fātinah*
kalmá, holy words, < *kalimah*.

[u] is not found frequently in Persian words. **káblí**, of Kabul, may be compared with Persian *kābulí*.

Sometimes, change is due to contamination or mis-understanding as

[i] > [í] in [i] > [e] in
ravish, custom, < ravish **sebá**, a thread, < sib
baxshish, charity, < bakhshish.

[u] is lengthened in
kálbút, a frame, < kálbud.

The above are just sporadic examples of irregular change. Short vowels of Persian behave much better than the long vowels which we shall discuss in the next section.

Before a [ʕ] or a final [h], [a] is lengthened, in compensation for the loss of [ʕ] or [h], as in

dává, law-suit, < daʕvay
lál, jewel, < laʕl
máne, meanings, < maʕní
zummáʔ, Friday, < jumaʕah
maʔanáʔ, forbid, < manaʕ
baʔdá, man, < bandah (slave)
vicará, helpless, < becarah.

X. 3. ii. Treatment of Long Vowels

[á], [í], [ú], [e] and [o] are the five long vowels in Persian and with these sounds the Awankari speakers were already familiar.

They are usually preserved in normally accented monosyllabic words. Examples—

[á]	[í]
yád , memory, < yád	tír , arrow, < tír
táb , courage, < táb	pír , saint, < pír (old)
ráʔ , way, < ráh	zín , saddle, < zín
ám , common, < ʕám.	dín , faith, < dín.

[ú]

súf, black cloth, < súf
súd, interest, < súd
shúm, miser, < shum
tút, mulberry, < tút.

[e]

tez, sharp, quick, < tez
pesh, in front, < pesh
mekh, nail, < mekh.

[o]

mom, wick, < mom
ol, custom, < awwal (?)
zor, power, < zor

top, cannon, < top

etc., etc.

In disyllabic words, they are preserved when stressed, as in

[á]

ákhur, trouble, < ákhir

(end)

xaráb, bad, < kharáb

ushmán, sky, < ásmán

ishná, friend, < áshná

(known).

[í]

xanzír, swine, < khanzír

phítá, tape, < fítah

tərík, date, < táríkh

hílá, effort, < híláh.

[ú]

bərúd, gunpowder, < bārúd

kənún, law, < qánun.

[e]

peshí, afternoon, hearing

< pesh

tesá, adze, < tesbah

reshum, silk, < resham

shuped, white, < safed.

[o]

kofte, a meat preparation, <

koftah

goshá, conference, < gosbah

(corner)

tobrá, bag, < tobrah.

In trisyllabic words, again, they are preserved in the medial syllable, which, by the way, is usually stressed.

[á]

xushámdí, flatterer, <

khwushámdí

pətásá, a sugar prep., <

batáshah

shəráfut, gentlemanliness,

< sharáfat.

[í]

məhíná, month, < mahínah

dálcíní, cinnamon, < dārcíní

həlímí, humbleness, < halímí.

[ú]

dəshúre, Moharram, < dah^cashúre

shəkúfá, new event, < shagúfah (bud)

məməlí, ordinary, < ma^cmullí.

[e]

həvelí, an old house, <

Havelí

ishukpecá, a creeper, <

ishqpecán

[o]

dərogá, officer, < dārogah

firozú, a name, < fīroz sháh

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tabelá, stable, < tavelah. **bihoshí**, senselessness, < behoshí.

Accent-shift reduces the quantity of long vowels in preaccented syllables, as

[á] in disyllabic
arám, rest, < árám
əbro, honour, < ábrú
səbún, soap, < sábuñ
Jədád, property, < jádád.

[i] in disyllabic
imán, faith, < ímán
bimár, ill, < bímár.

[ú] in disyllabic
pulád, steel, < fúlád
ruzgár, occupation, < rúzgár.

[e] in disyllabic
bivas, helpless, < bebas
bishak, doubtless, < be-shak
pisháb, urine, < pesháb.

[o] in disyllabic
pushák, dress, < poshák
gustán, graveyard, < goristán.

[á] in trisyllabic
baráni, rainy, wild, < bārán
arástá, recovered, < arástah (decorated).

[i] in trisyllabic
nimáshá, early evening, < ním-i-shám
vigári, on forced labour, < bígár.

[ú] in trisyllabic
rumáli, a loin cloth, < rúmál
Jushá~dá, boiled medicines, < júshándah.

[e] in trisyllabic
bidána, a sweetmeat, < be-dánah
bigána, other's, < begánah.

[o] in trisyllabic
ruzíná, daily, < rozánah
ruzgári, employed condition, < rúzgár (world).

Post-stressed long vowels generally occur at the end of a word. For the value of final vowels see the "Lahndi Phonetics".

In compound words, again, when the stress is on the second member of the compound, vowels in the prestressed syllable or syllables are shortened.

[á] and [e] in **tháñedár**, police officer, sound like [ʌ] and [i] respectively.

Similarly [á] and [í] in **rázi'ná~vá~**, compromise, < rázínámah
 [ú] in **kadú'kas**, an iron frame, < kadú-kash
 [e] and [á] in **nezá'bázi**, tent-pegging, < nezah bázi
 [o] and [e] in **roze'dár**, one keeping fast, < rozahdár.

The following are some of the irregular modifications, some due to mis-understanding and others due to want of stress or phonetic convenience.

Persian [á]

changes to [i] in **ishná**, friend, < áshná
 [u] in **ushmán**, sky, < ásmán
 ushbázi, fire-work, < átishbázi
 [e] in **rakebí**, plate, < rakábi
 [iá] in **samián**, goods, < sáman
 [ai] in **talaish**, search, < talásh

[í]

changes to [e] in **belcá**, spade, < bílcáh

[ú]

changes to [o] in **xo**, bad habit, < **khú** (habit)
 bo, bad smell, < **bú** (smell)
 abro, honour, < ábrú
 [au] in **rāu**, way, < rú
 [í] in **bíJo**, monkey, < búznah

[o]

changes to [i] in **nishádur**, salt ammoniac, < noshádar
 [ə] in **cəhá**, a measure, < cohá

[e]

changes to [u] **pusháb**, urine, < pesháb
 bāi~t, cane, < bed

The dropping down of vowels for want of stress in the following words is remarkable—

púdṇá, mint, < púdínah
ba~dbast, arrangement, < bandobast

Thus we find the Persian vowels changing so wildly and

X

irregularly.

[á] > [á]	[e] > [e]
> [Δ]	> [j]
> [ə]	> [u]
> [i]	> [ā]
> [i]	[ú] > [ú]
> [u]	> [u]
> [e]	> [o]
> [iá]	> [í]
etc.	[o] > [o]
[i] > [í]	> [u]
> [i]	> [i]
> [e]	> [ə], etc.,

X. 3. iii. [ʕa], [ʕá]

Persio-Arabic [ʕa] behaves like a vowel in Lahndi. It appears that the Arabic sound could not be imported in the tract. Some Indian travellers to Iran have stated that in Modern Persian the consonantal value of [ʕa] was never found there by them.

Initially it is lost before [Δ] in the following Awankari words e.g.,

- ʕaql, wisdom, > **akul**
- ʕarzi, application, > **arzi**
- ʕarq, distilled water, > **aruk**.

Similarly before another vowel it is assimilated initially, as in

- ʕálam, world, state, > **áalum**
- ʕumr, age, > **umur**
- ʕunáb, a fruit, > **unáb**
- ʕíd, a festival, > **íd**
- ʕainak, spectacles, > **ainuk**.

Medially it is [á] and behaves like the latter under particular conditions of stress.

- taʕnah, taunting remark, > **táná**
- laʕl, diamond, > **lál**
- mʕaní, meanings, > **máne**
- mashʕal, torch, > **mushál**

In a prestressed position, it is a short vowel.

- mʕajún, electury, > **məJún**,

m^ḡashuq, beloved, > **mashúk**

t^ḡawiz, amulet, > **tavít.**

Again, medially [ḡá], > [á] is assimilated by a following vowel.

[ḡá] > [á] in

badm^ḡásh, vulgar, > **badmásh**

mu^ḡámlah, matter, > **mámlá**

ḡám, generally, > **ám.**

It is neutral [ə] in such combinations as—

sha^ḡúr, commonsense, > **shéúr** sa^ḡídah, a name, > **saídá.**

Final [ḡ]

Finally it is changed to [á] along with the [a] vowel preceding it.

zila^ḡ, district, > **zilá**

mana^ḡ, prohibition, > **ma^ˆná**

jama^ḡ, a collection, > **Jamá.**

It is assimilated to a preceding vowel if there be any, e.g.

itrlá^ḡ, information, > **itlá.**

bai^ḡ, sale, > **bái**

shuru^ḡ, beginning, > **shurá**

vidá^ḡ, separation, > **vidiá.**

Again it is lost for want of support, as in

bekul, a fool, < be^ḡaq̣l

kali, gilding, < qala^ḡi

aván, a tribe, < a^ḡawán

killá, fort, < qil^ḡah

Jummá, Friday, < jum^ḡah.

Thus we find that [ḡ] is practically ignored as a sound.

[p]

[p] is treated in Lahndi as if it did not exist at all. It appears, it was not noted at all by the listeners. Compare—

súr, swine, < sú^ḡar

iJrá, warrant, < ijrá^ḡ

Jurət, courage, < jurat^ḡ.

Usually in Persian loan-words [p] occurred between long [á] and short [i]. In Lahndi the whole combination [á] + p + [i] has been changed to [ai]. See examples in X. 5.

[p] like [ḡ] has not been able to leave any impression or relic in Awankari.

X. 4. General Problems

X. 4. i. Nasalization

Nasalized vowels were unknown to Persian and Turkish.

Examples of spontaneous nasalization in Awankari are given below—

kiá̃s , justice, < qayás	tobá̃ , repentance, < tobah
baí̃t , poem, < bayat	ará̃í , a tribe, gardener, < alráci
dargá̃ , monastery, < dargáh	hamsõs , sorrow, < afsos
xangá̃ , monastery, < xangáh	haũslá , courage, < haosilah
shaũk , zeal, interest, < shauq	sará̃ , inn, < saráy
aĩsh , luxury, < saish	baũsh , discussion, < bahs
faĩslá , decision, < faisilah.	

Examples of historical nasalization—

badná̃ , notorious, < badnám	nimáshá̃ , twilight, < nímsham.
-------------------------------------	--

Dependent nasalization may be regressive or progressive. Regressive nasalization is compulsory, as noted in the "Lahndi Phonetics". For example—

kurá̃n , Quran, < quraán	xá̃ná̃ , cell, < khánah
á̃m , common, < sam	ará̃m , rest, < arám
zĩmí̃ , earth, < zamín	sabú̃q , soap, < sábuñ.

Progressive nasalization takes place only when the syllable containing the vowel is weak.

garbí̃ , heat, < garbí	khurmání̃ , apricot, < khúbání
narmí̃ , leniency, < narmí	nimá̃ , lemon, < límú̃
dánã , grain, < dánah.	

But when the syllable is stressed, progressive nasalization does not take place. Compare—

tamácã , slap, < tamancah	samosá̃ , a pastry, < sambosah
Guná̃ , sin, < gunáh.	

Compare **badná̃**, in which nasalization is an historical relic of [m] in Persian badnám, in spite of the stress on the last syllable.

DENASALIZATION. The cases showing denasalization of Persian

sounds are not many. The following examples are available—

ishkpecá, a creeper, < *ishq-i-pecán*
inshá-allah, God willing, > **shálá**
sandán, anvil, > **sodán**
shirín, sweet, > **shirí**, (sweetness).

X. 4. ii. Metathesis

Many sounds are difficult to be articulated by backward people in their particular combinations. Such combinations are generally changed into more convenient ones. Examples of metathesis of Persian sounds in Awankari are quite plenty. Compare—

ashkar , after all, < <i>akşar</i>	nəmurkar , deny, < <i>munkir</i>
abkur , mica, < <i>abrak</i>	naşhká , map, < <i>naqshah</i>
ishkbol , flea-wort seed, < <i>akbol</i>	káčú , knife, < <i>caqu</i>
aspgol	məJáz , nature, < <i>mizáj</i>
başhki , a title, < <i>Bakhshi</i>	matbul , selfishness, < <i>marlab</i>
bucká , bag, < <i>bugcah</i>	máxub , agreeable, < <i>mwáfiq</i>
pík , funnel, < <i>kíf</i>	takmá , medal, < <i>tamcah</i>
pəlitá , wick, < <i>fatilah</i>	nuksá , prescription, < <i>nuskhah</i> .

X. 4. iii. Additions of Sounds

We have already seen how consonant groups have been avoided by inserting vowel sounds. Sometimes consonants are added in an attempt to Aryanize foreign words, as

[d] in **ta[~]dúr**, oven, < *tanúr*
 [d] in **hu[~]ḍar**, art, < *hunar*
cugá[~]d, hockey, < *caugán*
gu[~]dá, wicked person, < *(sar) ganah*
kúhá[~]d, hump, < *kohán*
 [r] in **surJani[~]**, a cloth, < *sozaní*
tarsalli[~], satisfaction, < *tasallí*
khurmáni[~], an apricot, < *khúbání*
parmáná, measure, < *paymánah*
 [l] in **kalbútur**, a pigeon, < *kabútar*
malvesiá[~], piles, < *massah*

X

[g] in **mā^ˆrbāngī**, kindness, < mehrbānī
hirāngī, wonder, < hayranī.

X. 4. iv. Deformities

There are quite a large number of words, in which deformity of words and irregularity in change have made them practically unrecognizable. Examples.—

muhār , rent, < mähawār	han , now, < hanūz
ugā^ˆ , witness, < gawāh	bīlo , monkey, < būznah
mamdaštā , mortar and pestle, < hāwan dastah	mādin , female, < mādah
sippī , shell, < sadaf (cf. Skt. shukti.)	kānigo , a caste, < qānūngo
kārzabān , bugloss, < gawzubān	sarghī , dawn, < saharghāh
	valād , progeny, < aulād.

X. 4. v. Possibilities

The following are some more words which have Persian origin but which appear to be quite Indo-Aryan. The sounds in them have developed most irregularly.

Jhēlat , madness, < Jahālat, (ignorance)
Alphal , naked, < alif
bīnī , a piece of wood on the door, < mābayan
vī^ˆnī , wrist, < bīnī (nose, brain).

The change of [b] to [v] in the **hīnī**, may be compared to **vasul**, onion, < basal and **vartun**, in **vartun vālevā**, luggage, < bartan.

pəlūtī , abuses and lūtī , backbiting, < falītah (burning wick)	
mamṭī , turret, < bām	Ājh , sit, < az
karo^ˆ , a measure, < karam	bukul , wraped cloth, < baqal.

The following words appear to have been derived from Persian, although I am unable to find out their parallels.

botnā , young of a donkey	halkā , mad
dāJā^ˆ , reins	khorī , hole; cf. Per. khol
murkiā^ˆ , ear-rings	milus , camel-hair

se^hlī, rope vī^hllā, damp
usur kusur, senses ; cf. Persian avsān.

X. 4. vi. Elision of sounds

Sometimes unrecognizability has occurred on account of the dropping of sounds in the Persian words. Examples—

arzdāsht, > **ərdās**, prayer
shābāsh, > **shābus**, bravo
ātishbāzi, > **əshbāzi**, or **ushbāzi**, fire-work
maulvī, > **māulī**, priest
lināf, > **leph**, quilt
afrāt-tafrīt, > **hafrā-tafrī**, disorder
basar, > **sar**, afford
insbā-allah, > **shālā**, God willing
A^hbdullah, > **du^hllā**, a name
yā-allah, > **jālā**, by God
hāfiz, > **hanz**, blind man
ātish, > **at**, fire
masjid, > **mesit**, mosque
dah^hāshūrah, > **dəshūre**, ten days of Muharram
sar-ba-sar, > **sar par**, at all
tashtārī, > **taslī**, plate.

X. 4. vii. Extensions

Persian words have been given further Indo-Aryan forms by extensional sounds. Grammatical terminations are added to Persian vocables. Loan substantives are declined like I-A. substantives. Persian verbs are conjugated like I-A. verbs, and so on.

In addition, the following Awankari suffixal sounds are interesting—

[fā] in hī^hfā, eunuch, < hīj
in la^hgrā, a mango, < lang (lame)
[f] in havāf, steam, < hawā
in lā^hgur, a loin-cloth, < lung ; cf. lu^hgī, a turban
[ilā,] in zo^hrīlā, poisonous, < zahar (poison)

X

- [á] in **guṡgá**, dumb, < gung
in **varká**, page, < varq.

X. 5. Vowels in Contact

It appears that no vowel groups or diphthongs existed in Persio-Arabic. Some semivowel, glottal sound or stop was necessarily uttered between vowels. In Indian languages, however, the consonantal sound was so dropped or changed that the vowels were brought into contact. Compare the following in Awankari—

(1) By change of [au] to [āu]

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| fāuz , army, < fauj | dāurī , a stone vessel, < daurah |
| saudá , bargain, < saudah | kāul , word, < qaul |
| bilāurī , of glass, < balaurī | etc., etc. |

(2) By change of [h] to tone

- | | |
|---|--|
| shipá^h , soldier, < sipáhi | shá^h , ink, < siyáhi |
| shurá^h , a pitcher, < suráhi. | |

(3) By elision of [ʕ]

- | |
|---|
| mudá^ʕ , plaintiff, < mudaʕí |
| ketaí , at all, < qataʕí. |

(4) By elision of [ʔ]

- | | |
|--|---|
| kasá^ʔ , butcher, < qasáʔí | xudá^ʔ , people, < khudáʔí |
| halvá^ʔ , confectioner, < halwáʔí | malá^ʔ , cream, < báláʔí |

It may be noted that all the above conjuncts occur finally.

Medial diphthongs occur in the following cases—

- | | |
|---|----------------------------------|
| miád , duration, < mīy ^ʕ ád | sáís , syce, < sáʔís |
| ziádá , more, < ziyádah | vəsiut , will, < wasiyyat |
| axtiár , control, < ikhtiyár | suál , question, < sawál. |

There are a few words in which [a + h + a] < Awankari [āu^h], as in

- | | |
|--|---|
| shāu^hr , village, < shahat | zāu^hr , poison, < zahar |
| pāu^hr , time, < pahar | etc. |

Older still are the cases in which diphthongs thus expected have

been monophthongized, as

(1) By elision of [y]

Per. [aya] < [e] in

shex, sheikh, < shayakh

Per. [aya] or [áya], < [āi]

sāil, walking, < sayar

velait, England, < wilāyat **shikāit**, complaint, < shikāyat

hāmaiti, helper, < hamāyatī.

Per. [aya] < [ə] in a prestressed position—

shotán, devil

sələb, flood

mədán, plain

pədaish, produce.

Per. [aya] < [i] in prestressed position

hirán, surprised, < hayrán.

(2) By elision of [h] leaving tone

shāi^ˆr, city, < shahar

shā^ˆr, town, < shahar

nā^ˆr, canal, < nahar

mo^ˆr, pound, < muhar

mo^ˆlut, duration, <

sho^ˆrā, ashamed, < shuharat

muhalat

(fame)..

Please note in the above [a a] < [á], [a a] < [āi] and [u] + [a]

< [o].

(3) By elision of [p]

[á] + [i] < [āi]

fāidá, use, < fā'idah

pədaish, produce, < paydā'ish

lāik, able, < lā'iq

nāib, assistant, nā'ib.

[a] + < [i] [á]

pácá, foot of trousers, < pā'icah.

[a] [i] < [e]

necá, snake of a smoking pipe, < nā'icah.

(4) By elision of [ʔ]

[á] + [i] < [āi]

kāidá, method, < qā'idah.

Just a couple of cases of diphthongization are known—

vidiá^ˆ, farewell, < vidá^c

gi^ˆriá^ˆ, 1/16 of a yard, < girah.

X. 6. The Effect of Awankari Stress

We have already observed that the Awankari stress has effected important phonetic changes in the sounds of Persian words. The observations may be summed up below—

(a) Shortening of a vowel—

vedám, almond, < **bádám** **imán**, faith, < **ímán**
bərík, thin, < **bárik** **cubaccá**, cistern, < **cáh-baccah**
bimár, ill, < **bímár** **pushák**, dress, < **poshák**
bishak, doubtless, < **beshak** etc.

(b) Dropping of a vowel—

sámi, customer, < **ásami**
fai'slá, distance, < **fásilah**
káblí, of Kabul, < **kábulí**.

(c) Singling of a double consonant—

Juláb, purgative, < **julláb** **suntá**, circumcision, < **sunnat**
bəzáz, draper, < **bazzáz** **itlá**, information, < **itrlá**
be-izti, disgrace, < **sizzati** etc.

(d) Doubling of a single consonant—

khattá, regrets, < **khata** (mistake)
nemukkur, deny, < **munkir**.

(e) Dropping of a consonant—

daxat, signature, < **dastkhatt**
metábi, a fire work, < **mahtábi**.

For more examples see the section on **Elision**.

(f) Dropping of a syllable—

dəshúre, Moharram, < **jálá**, O God, < **yá allah**
 dah-śáshúrah
muhár, rent, < **máhwar** **betbári**, distrust, < **be-iśatabári**
tashí, plate, < **Tashtari** **ushbázi**, firework, < **átishbázi**.



ENGLISH ELEMENT

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VON



ENGLISH ELEMENT

1. ENGLISH SPECIFIC SOUNDS
2. VOWELS
3. NASALIZATION OF VOWELS
4. DIPHTHONGS OF ENGLISH
5. ENGLISH CONSONANTS IN AWANKARI
6. ENGLISH CONSONANT GROUPS
7. THE ENGLISH SYLLABLE
- . GENERAL

XI. 1. English Specific Sounds

An Awankar is unable to pronounce the following English sounds—

VOWELS

ɜ	as in call	> á
au	as in lord, copy	> á
ae	as in lamp	> A or i
e	as in shed	> i
ei	as in fail	> e
ai	as in time, fire	> ai

XI

au as in out > **au**ou as in coat > **o.**

Some of the above sounds are too delicate to be ever felt even by the literate people.

CONSONANTS

dz as in judge > **J**cz as in chimney > **c**csh as in station > **sh**th as in theatre > **th**w as in warrant > **v.**

It will be interesting to note that Awankari, which has borrowed z, x, g from Persian has not so far acquired a single sound from English. The reasons for this are obvious: The students learn English from Indian masters who are quite ignorant of English phonetics; the speakers do not, as a rule, come into contact with English people; and it is still too early for English sounds to become acclimatised in Indian dialects.

XI. 2. English Vowels

Short vowels are generally preserved, except in the last syllable, where they are changed to [u] in medial position.

[A] in cuff = **kaf**summons = **sammun**button = **battun**general = **Jarnail** (ai in the final syllable is irregular)exception: company = **kam̃pni.**[i] in ticket = **ṭikut**knicker = **nikur**biscuit = **biskut**register(y) = **reJisṭri, reJishṭri**minute = **miṭ**pistol = **pistaul**inch = **aiṭci** is an exception to the general tendency.tin = **ṭin** is an exception to the general tendency.

[ə] of the pre-accented syllable, as in

commission = **kemishun**

America = əm'riká.

[u] in hook = huk

exception : bull = búlí (dog).

English long vowels except [i] [ú] are generally modified to Awankari vowels, the tendency being to make vowels closer and shorter,

[e] > [i] in sessions = sishun

pencil = pinsul

pen = pin

deputy = dīptī

shed = shid.

In səvítur < sweater, [i] for [i] is due to strong accent, as in kəmíshun, and əm'riká, above.

Also note ā > [ʌ] in lamp = lamp

practice = praktis

castor oil = kashtrāil.

> [á] in battery = bá'trí

barracks = bārká

brandy = bírá'dí.

In double breast > dābul bres, [e] is irregular.

[æ] > [ʌ] in bomb = bam

orderly = ardli

> [á] in tonga = tǎ'gá

lord = láṭ

collar = kálur

polish = pálush

cork = kák.

In botul < bottle, [o] is irregular,

[ə] in kəmeṭi < committee is due to the unaccented position of [ʌ].

[o] > [u] in police = pulus.

[i] is preserved in

dīptī < deputy

ardli < orderly

ká'pí < copy.

In bírlas < breeches, the [i] for [i] is irregular.

[ú] is preserved in

bút < boot

túl < stool.

In the last syllable of a word, and there too in unaccented position, long vowels tend to be reduced to [u], immediately before a consonant, as

- [i] in **pulus** < police
 [e] in **turum** < trumpet
 [e] in **sāṭīfikut** < certificate
 [u] in **paltuṇ** < platoon
 etc., etc.

XI. 3. Nasalization of Vowels

Vowels are nasalized in the vicinity of nasal consonants under conditions described at I. 4. ii. of the "Lahndi Phonetics".

It has been already mentioned in the treatment of Persian loanwords that spontaneous nasalization of vowels, especially the long ones, is one of the most effective phonetic phenomena found in foreign words naturalized in Awankari as also in many other languages. Examples of this independent nasalization are more common in the English loanwords than in the Persian words. Examples are—

- | | |
|------------------------------|----------------------------|
| lāĩ̃s < lace | gāĩ̃s < gas |
| kāĩ̃pī < copy | kāĩ̃c < catch |
| bāĩ̃ṭ < bat (cricket) | rāĩ̃grūt < recruit. |

X. 4. Diphthongs of English

The English diphthongs are generally monophthongized in Awankari. This is in conformity with the tendency of closing and shortening the English vowels as noted above.

[eɪ] > [e] in **fel** < fail

[ʌ] in **apraĩ̃l** < April

[aɪ] in **caĩ̃n** < chain.

[aɪ] > [aĩ̃] very regularly, as in

tāĩ̃m < time

fāĩ̃r < fire

draĩ̃vur < driver

vāĩ̃srā < viceroy

saĩ̃kul < cycle

(but **bāĩ̃sikul** < bicycle)

praĩ̃mrī < primary

kashṭrāl < castor-oil line < **lāin**.

Compare in this connection Persian [ái] also changing to [āi] in Awankari. See X 5.

As in **kashṭrāl**, [āui] changes to [āi]. The word boiler has been heard as **bāilur**, from motor drivers and mechanics. The following technical terms noted from the speech of some artisans in Awankari are also interesting:

pāiṭ < point

Jāin < joint.

[is] > [i] in **bīr** < beer

gīr < gear (heard from motor drivers and cleaners).

[ie] > [e] in **theṭur** < theatre.

[áu] > [au], which is generally heard as [o] and is the shortest and closest of the diphthongs, as noted in the chapter concerned.

Examples—

pāuḍ < pound, and

grāuḍ < ground.

Similarly [āuu] is changed to [āu] in

āuṭ < out

kāuṣul < council.

[ou] is usually changed to [o], which is heard even from the speech of learned teachers in schools, as in

moṭur < motor

coat > **koṭ** (poultice > **pulṭus**, is irregular)

loṭus < notice.

Like [ou], many of the delicate English diphthongs are reduced to simple vowels. The shorter and glidal element of the English diphthong disappears.

XI. 5. English consonants in Awankari

Phonetically, the English consonantal sounds, except about a dozen, are quite foreign to the Awankari speakers. No English consonant is yet naturalized in the dialect. Even M.A.s in English from the tract cannot exactly produce the English values.

[b], [k], [f], [g], [h], [l], [m], [n], [p], [s], [v] and [z] are the only consonants almost common to English and Awankari; and in whatever English words they occur, they are generally preserved, except for the aspiration in some of them, as—

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[b] in bīm < beam	baṭuṇ < button
ballur < boiler	astabul < stable
	etc., etc.
[k] in koṭ < coat	kāiṭc < catch
ṭraṭk < trunk	kák < cork
ḍákdar < doctor	etc.
[f] in faishun < fashion	fel < fail
kaf < cuff	laṭain < lieutenant.
[g] in gaiṭus < garters	gāi's < gas
ṭā'gá < tonga	sirguṭ < cigarette.
[h] in huk < hook.	
[l] in lamp < lamp	lāṭ < lord
botul < bottle	ardli < orderly
	etc., etc.
[m] in moṭur < motor	bīm < beam
kamishun < commission	mem < ma'am.
[n] in nikur < knicker	ṭin < tin
cimni < chimney	faishun < fashion.

The change of non-initial [n] to [ṇ] is older than its preservation in loanwords or its restoration in I-A languages. Examples of English [n] changing to [ṇ] in Awankari are also available. Compare—

paltuṇ < platoon	lāiṇ < line
kāṇṭpai < company.	
[p] in paltuṇ < platoon	pin < pen
ḍipti < deputy	inspiṭṭur < inspector.
[r] in ripuṭ < rivet	rashid < receipt
ḍraivur < driver	etc.
[s] in vāisrá < viceroy	samman < summons
pās < pass	
[sh] in faishun < fashion	mashin < machine.
[v] in vāisrá < viceroy	ḍraivur < driver.

The change of [r] to [l] and of [l] to [r] is as common in English words as in Indo-Aryan and Persian words. Examples are—

piplāmiṭ < peppermint	lāṭikīn < (Lord) Ratigan
bəlishṭur < barrister	
Jaṭurmain < gentleman	
etc., etc.	

In a number of words, English [s] = [sh]. Compare also Persian words at page 169.

ishṭaṭ < Assistant

rashid < receipt

ishṭam < stamp.

bəlishṭur < barrister

ishṭad < stud

English alveolar [t] and [d] > cerebral [ṭ] and [ḍ], respectively, as in—

ṭraṭk < trunk

palṭun < platoon

bammūkaṭ < bamboo-cart

ṭāim < time

ḍākḍar < doctor

boḍiṅ < boarding

gād < guard.

Spirant [th] of English = [ṭh] of Awankari. Compare—

theṭur < theatre

thad < third.

The affricate [dz] and [cz] > plosive [J] and [c] respectively, as in

JaJ < judge

Jāin < joint

chain > **cāin**

inch > **āiṅci**

catch > **kāiṅc**.

[w] is changed to [v] in Awankari, as in—

veraṭ < warrant

vāskaṭ < waistcoat

viski < whiskey.

Although I have not been able to find any word containing English [y] or [d] to have been adopted in Awankari, students pronounce these sounds as [j] and [ḍ] respectively in their English lessons.

There is a large number of words in which sounds have been softened by the Awankari speakers. Compare—

[k] > [g] in **ḍigri** < decree

raṅgruṭ < recruit.

[g] > [b], which is softer than the former, in

sābū < sago.

[cz] > [J] in **birJus** < breeches.

[t] > [ṭ] in **botul** < bottle

bāṭri < battery

pistaṭl < pistol

tārpīn < turpentine.

[d] > [ḍ] in **ḍesammur** < December

ardli < orderly.

[t] > [ṭ] [ḍ] in **ḍākḍar** < doctor.

[n] > [ṇ] in **lammur** < number

loṭus < notice

loṭ < note

lāṭāin < lantern.

The change of [ḍ] to [ṭ] in **lāṭ** < lord, and **kāṭ** < card, is irregular and inexplicable.

existed in Awankari, e.g.

[dr] in **draivur** < driver

[pl] in **pletīar** < plate-layer

[pr] in **praktis** < practice; **prāimci** < primary

[kr] in **kroshīā** < crotchet.

We have noted that [r] and [l] easily adapt themselves as second members of consonant groups. It is, however, remarkable that the general tendency in English loanwords as in Persian words is to lose grouping in Awankari. A consonant group is avoided in two ways:

(a) by assimilating the two sounds of the conjunct; and

(b) by inserting a vowel (swarabhakti) between the elements.

Compare—

(a) **ṭishun** < station

ṭāl < stall.

(b) **gilās** < glass

burush < brush

səlet < slate

gurus < gross

kirkut < cricket

birjus < breeches.

Regarding the words brush, gross, cricket and breeches, Dr. T. G. Bailey suggests that the syllable stop + r + vowel is changed to stop + vowel + r, by transposition.* In fact the attempt of the speaker is to avoid consonant group.

Some words borrowed from Hindi show another way how a consonant group is avoided. A prothetic [i] serves to split up the two elements into two syllables. Examples are—

ishtām < stamp

astabul < stable

ishtad < stud.

Medially, a consonant group is retained in (or modified to) such a form in which syllabic division is easy, i.e. the group is not real. Note [shṭ] and [st] in the above examples, and also compare—

[kd] in **ḍākdar** < doctor

[shṭ] in **kashṭraīl** < castor-oil

[gl] in **iḡlāiḡd** < England

[mn] in **cimnī** < chimney.

[sk] in **biskut** < biscuit.

No final group exists in Awankari except nasal + plosive, sporadically. Compare—

[mb] in **bomb** > **bam**

[rc] in **March** > **māruc**

*B. S. O. S. Vol. IV. and V.

[rd] in lord > lát

but

[nt] in saki^{nt} < second

[mp] in lamp < lamp

[ng] in **boḍiṅ** < boarding
etc., etc.

XI. 7. The English Syllable

As a rule, the number of syllables in English words is retained in Awankari. There are, however, instances of shortening in trisyllabic English words, as in

Amriká < America

diptí < deputy

ardli < orderly

kashṭrāil < castor-oil

Jarnāil < general

kāu'pni < company

prāimri < primary

sirgut < cigarette

etc., etc.

There are a number of monosyllabic words in English which have become disyllabic in Awankari, such as

March > **máruć**

gílás < glass

ishtad < stud

burnsh < brush

These are the cases in which consonant groups were avoided.

There are more disyllabic English loanwords in Awankari than the monosyllabic words. The trisyllabic words are very few. I have not been able to discover a single tetrasyllabic word. They occur in the following proportion :

Monosyllabic 35%

Disyllabic 55%

Trisyllabic 10%

STRESS. Awankari has followed its own stress system in English loanwords. It is initial when the syllables are short + short, or long + short, or long + long.

Compare—

short + short

long + short

long + long

tikut (ticket)

lotus (notice)

ka~pi (copy)

pinsul (pencil)

botul (bottle)

slati (slate *adj.*)

paltun (platoon)

kau'-sul (council).

bo'dīṅ (boarding) and **ḍāk'dar** (doctor) are perhaps conceived as compound words.

In the words containing syllables short + long, the stress falls on the second syllable, as in

am'riká < America

i'g'lā'ḍ < England

kar'nāl < colonel

pis'tāul < pistol

ap'rāl < April.

In trisyllabic words, stress is medial. Compare—

bə'lishtər < barrister

du'márcá < demurrage

mani'ádur < money order

rə'jistrí < register(y)

kə'mishun < commission.

The word **kə'mish'nar** (commissioner), again, is considered as a compound word.

Dr. T. G. Bailey (B. S. O. S., Vol. IV-V) has noted double Punjabi stress in bicycle, commissioner, doctor, etc. We have one stressed syllable in Awankari. In this connection compare also Bengali stress, which is initial.

XI. 8. General

The reduction of syllables in the words enumerated on the last page is the result of phonetic economy which is further evinced in the following cases of haplology—

ishṭa't < Assistant

turum < trumpet

lēftāin < lieutenant

vāskat < waistcoat

pletīar < platelayer.

Matathesis may be noted in the following words—

flānāin < flannel

Jarnāl < general

sirguṭ < cigarette.

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ERRATA

<i>Page</i>	<i>incorrect</i>	<i>correct</i>
6 (5th line from end)	holuṇ	gholuṇ
34 (after [-pt-])	littá	littá
38 (after [-ny-])	áJ	n̄J
73 (2nd para)	ælhēt	vælhēt
109 (last line but one)	ídde	idde
137 (4th line from end)	vedháí	vədháí
151 (29th line)	thigṛí	thigṛí
166 (12th line)	medán	mədán
187 (under [ḍ])	kúháḍ	kuháḍ
190 (5th line from end)	<Awankari	>Awankari
191 (before Aw. vowels)	<	>
(24th line)	<[ī] [á]	[ī]>[á]
192 (19th line)	nemukkur	nəmukkur

Note the long vowels in **makki** (p. 5), **akkhíá** (p. 18), **ársí** (p. 20), **Játki**, (p. 91), **bhəbhūṇ** (p. 105), **mulá^Já** (p. 162) and **baxiá** (p. 173).

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